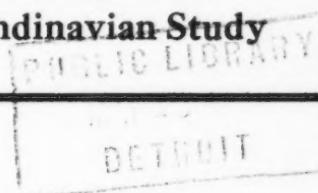


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Scandinavian Studies

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NEGATIVE FORM WITH AFFIRMATIVE MEANING AND AFFIRMATIVE FORM WITH NEGATIVE MEANING IN SWEDISH

PART I

CERTAIN TYPES OF EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES

AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST

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OWING to the fact that exclamatory sentences are inadequately discussed in the textbooks, it has seemed desirable to include within the following pages a somewhat detailed description of important types that appertain to our study.

Concerning exclamatory sentences which in form resemble rhetorical questions, Adolf Noreen says:¹

... Sådana [i.e., exklamativa meningar] utgöra dock onekligen en stor procent av de retoriska frågorna, ja kanske lejonparten; men då visst icke enbart med kvesitiv [the interrogative type *Vad heter han?*], utan även med rogativ [the interrogative type *Heter han Pettersson?*] formulering. Så t. e. uttryckes förväning såväl medelst *var det mening!* eller *är det rim och reson här!* som medelst *vad vill det här säga!* eller *hur i all världen bär du dig åt!*; överraskning både med *träffar jag dig här!* eller *är det du, din kanaljel!* och med *vad ser jag!* o. d.; häpnad än med *är detta kristna människor!*, än med *vad får man icke uppleva!*; skrytsamt jubel med *var det inte det jag sådel!* lika väl som med *vad var det jag sådel!*; förtryselse såväl med *skäms du då intel!* eller *är du rent besatt!* som med *hur bär du dig (inte) åt!*; misströstan icke mindre med *är det väl lönat att spjärna mot sitt ödel* än med *vad förmå vi mot idell osv.*

Affirmatively worded exclamations which accord with the question type *Heter han Pettersson?* often, owing to the nature of their thought content, have negative implication. *Har jag sagt något annat!* Implication: *visst icke! Är det kvinnogöra att sticka händerna i ett sådant rösel!* *Finnes väl en sandbank i Klarälven*

¹ *Vårt språk*, Vol. V (Lund, 1904), p. 130.

eller ett rev i Vänern, som de ej känna! Skulle jag säga något om den vackra Margareta Celsing! And the passage: "Mor, mor, vem var den mannen?" . . . "Vet jag vem han var!" In other instances the thought content makes the implication affirmative. *Ser du!* Så, är Ni här igen! Nej,² är du ute och går! Nej, har han talat om dell! And the passages: (a) *Aj, aj, aj!* Förstår du så litet affärer, min gosse! (b) "Men vilken god je har skickat dig i min väg?" "Tror du ännu på goda feer!" But negatively worded exclamations of this general type always have affirmative meaning. This situation corresponds to that of the expectation of or desire for affirmative answers to similarly constructed questions. In the case of the exclamations the speaker may expect concordant comment or reaction in another person, but often there is occasion or opportunity for none, as will be clear from the nature of some of the examples.³ *Är det inte vackert!* Nej, är det inte märkvärdigt! "Är det inte en härlig värld," utbrast han strålande. O, kan man ej älska detta folk! Ja, står inte handduksväven där och väntar, som om den missunnade en att sitta på ändan i två minuter! Nej, är det inte det jag säger! Kände jag inte på mig att karlarna inte borde få ligga ute! Kunde jag inte tro det! Kunde han inte ha lust att riktigt rotrista honom! Men tyst, tror jag inte att vi har regnet härl! Trodde jag inte att det var sant! And the passages: (a) "Johan Fredrik har vunnit," säger översten stolt. "Visste jag icke det. Jag har lärt honom spela." (b) "Du har för mycket kvinnor, som regera i ditt hus." "Ja, har jag inte det!"

Likewise, affirmatively phrased exclamations which accord with the question type *Vad heter han?* frequently, owing to the

² It need be borne in mind, in the reading of examples cited in this article, that *nej* and *ja* do not always mean, respectively, 'no' and 'yes'.

³ Cf. Olof Östergren, *Nusvensk ordbok* (Stockholm, 1915-), under *icke*, I 3 d (referred to from I 2). Östergren is quoted in full in footnote 19 (his I 2) and in the following paragraph of this footnote (part of I 3, followed by I 3 d). The examples in the following paragraph of this footnote are thus, it is to be inferred, considered by Östergren to be like that of footnote 19 with reference to the pleonastic use of *icke*: there is no occasion for reaction in another person.

Under *icke*, I 3, Östergren says with reference to the use of this word: "I några fall nyttjas 'icke' även i smtl. [i.e., instead of *inte*] . . . d) I en del mer l. mindre vard. utrop; jfr 2 ovan. *Tror ja icke rakt, att de blir sommar!* Och gick icke hon så lått i trapporna så! Å icke de fan, att han ska komma just nul Sannerligen l. förbanne mej, kommer icke den glöpen å skäller ut en i ens eget hus!"

nature of their thought content, have negative implication.⁴ *Var funnos så glatta golv, så höviska kavaljärer, så sköna kvinnor!* Implication: *ingenstädes!* *Vem kunde tro att du hade så mycket förstånd!* *Vad rör det oss vems selet är!* *Men vad hjälper önskningar!* *Hur kunde utgången bli någon annan!* *Man vet aldrig vad man själv kommer att företaga sig, och hur kan man då gissa vad ens nästa skall göra!* And the passage: *Vad brydde hon sig om det!* *Inte ett dugg.* Or, with different thought content, the implication is affirmative. *Kors, vem kan det där föreställa!* *O, vad har jag gjort, min Gud, min Gud!* *Vad i Guds namn vill det säga!* *Vad är det för snack!* *Hur få av dem skulle säga något annat!* Also here exclamatory sentences containing a negative adverb always have affirmative meaning.⁵ "*O, I tröslösa,*" sade Marianne, "*hur kommer ej er gamla visdom till korta insför livets fullhet!*" *Hur mjuka äro inte våra sinnen och hur lätt väckta våra hjärtan!* *Med huru mordlustna blickar betraktade jag icke vår store katt. . . . Hur är icke allt detta Frödingskt i effekt, ton och rimflätning.* *Vilken lycka är icke detta!* *Vilken man hade ej majorskan gjort av honom!* *På vilket utsökt sätt spelade hon inte harpal* "*Vad allt har man inte varit med om!*" sade han. And the passage: *Ropa henne tillbaka?* *Nej, vad skulle hon då inte inbillat sig!*

We have seen, then, that exclamations which correspond to the two question types (*Heter han Pettersson?* and *Vad heter han?*) have in some instances affirmative, in other instances negative implication when they have affirmative form, but that they always have affirmative meaning when they have negative form.⁶

With reference to the negative adverb in exclamatory sentences, D. A. Sundén and N. Linder have unlike opinions. Sundén writes:⁷

⁴ Noreen, pp. 129-130, says: "... *vad vet jag betyder jag vet inte.* . . ."

⁵ In the citation from Noreen, above, note the example: *Hur bär du dig (inte) åt!* Whether or not the negative is used in this sentence, the meaning is affirmative.

⁶ Examples illustrating the three categories of each of the two preceding paragraphs will be found in the citation from Noreen, above.

⁷ *Svensk språklära i sammandrag*²⁹ (Stockholm, 1937), §268, second paragraph. Note that Sundén includes the negative *ingalunda*. There does not occur to my mind any question, nor any exclamation of the type here under consideration, in which this word could be employed.

Om en jakande sats förvandlas till en nekande genom tillägg av ett nekande adverb, såsom *ej*, *inte*, *icke*, *ingalunda*, så förnekas giltigheten av den förras innehåll. Men i fråge- och utropssatser tjänar det nekande ordet blott att antyda den talandes väntan på jakande svar eller instämmande i utropet, t. e. *Sjunger icke lärkan? Vilken förtjusande utsikt ha vi inte här! Minsann kom han inte ändå!* (Sv. Jo.)

But Linder—who clearly has in mind only sentences corresponding to the question type *Vad heter han?*—says:⁸

I jakande utropssatser måste ett nekande adverb inskjutas, så snart det behöves för undvikande av förväxling med frågesatser. Ex. *Hur riki uthrustad är icke denne man! Hur skönt ler icke solen! Hur dyrbar är icke denna pärla!* (Däremot: *Vad denna kvinnas sång är hänsörande! Hur ljusligt det känns efter regnet!*)—“*Hur friskt det susar i olivebladen, Hur vinkar ej naturens helgedom!*” (Böttiger.)

One need not feel concern about confusion between exclamatory and interrogative sentences. For in oral language exclamations are differentiated through the employment of characteristic intonation,¹⁰ while in writing they are distinguished through the use of the exclamation point, which is, however—be it admitted—by no means consistently employed.¹¹ But as for Linder, the comment can be made that since his book is not descriptive, but prescriptive, he could—in the matter of the written language—as well have called for uniformity in punctuation as for the insertion of the negative adverb, that is, as for the total avoidance of affirmatively worded exclamations that can assume negative form without modification of meaning (his words “så snart det behöves” are clearly designed to allow only affirmative exclamatory sentences belonging to a wholly different category, namely those illustrated after his “Däremot:”).¹² Now, what about the many exclamatory sentences corresponding to the

⁸ *Regler och råd angående svenska språkets behandling i tal och skrift*⁹ (Stockholm, 1908), §98, 8.

⁹ *Vad* is an adverb here and in numerous exclamatory sentences cited in the following pages. Cf. the article “Adverbial Use of *Vad* in Swedish,” *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 17 (1943), p. 224.

¹⁰ See the citation from Noreen, below. Cf. also Gideon Danell, *Svensk språklära*² (Lund, 1932), p. 117.

¹¹ See the citation from Noreen, below.

¹² These will be discussed below.

question type *Vad heter han?* the meaning of which does not remain unchanged when a negative adverb is inserted? For this situation of necessity obtains in the case of all of those having negative implication; and many of those having affirmative implication are more or less altered in meaning when a negative adverb is added. Here Linder must needs overlook the identity with questions.

Exclamatory sentences of the kind that Linder proscribes are indeed not of frequent occurrence. But it has been seen that Noreen approves *Hur bär du dig dä!* since he cites *Hur bär du dig (inte) dä!*¹³ We find, illustrative of stylistic variation, the two types of exclamatory sentences—without and with a negative adverb—juxtaposed or in close proximity in the passages: (a) *Hur många gånger hade jag förr läst upp dylika meddelanden! Hur många gånger hade jag ej gjort det, utan att Pierre hade märkt det ringaste!*¹⁴ (b) *Hur karakteristiska äro icke denna lilla skildring och dikten, som kompletterar den! Hur väl teckna de å ena sidan brevskrivaren . . . och å andra sidan Leopold. . . .*¹⁵ (c) *FADER L. Vad får man inte uppleva allt! . . . Vad får man icke allt uppleva! Ja, jag säger det! SKOLMÄSTARN. Ja, vad få vi uppleva!*¹⁶

After having read the first two of these three passages, one cannot well agree with Sundén that exclamations of the type *Vilken förtjusande utsikt ha vi inte här!* imply a desire for "instämmande i utropet."¹⁷ For it cannot be contended that in them the negatively worded sentence has any different relation to the seeking of concurrence in (the appropriateness or correctness of) the exclamation than the juxtaposed sentence with affirmative wording. The exclamations corresponding to the question type

¹³ See the citation from Noreen, above; cf. footnote 5.

¹⁴ Gustav av Geijerstam, *Kampen om kärlek* (Stockholm, 1910), p. 130.

¹⁵ Oscar Levertin, *Svenska gestalter* (in *Samlade skrifter av Oscar Levertin*, IX [Stockholm, 1907]), p. 211.

¹⁶ August Strindberg, *Samlade dramatiska arbeten*. "Historiska dramer," 2 (Stockholm, 1903), p. 451.

¹⁷ The third passage, to be sure, could be adduced in proof of Sundén's statement. But it is to be expected that there should sometimes exist "instämmande i utropet" and that this should on occasion be expressed. This circumstance, however, does not prove that any force of the negative is here operative.

Vad heter han? into which, without any alteration in meaning, there could thus be inserted a negative adverb—with no other change in form, if that is what Sundén means—are not of so frequent occurrence that it is proper to speak of two parallel types: one without the negative, not seeking concurrence; one with the negative, seeking concurrence. But it may be that he has in mind mainly the same kind of affirmatively worded exclamations¹⁸ as does Linder: it will presently be seen that he is in that event equally wrong. But it is unimportant to speculate about what Sundén here is exactly thinking of, for he contradicts himself when, elsewhere,¹⁹ he says that the negative adverb contributes no meaning to the exclamations: "Omvänd ordföljd nyttjas i följande fall uti: A) Huvudsatser . . . 6) i utropssats med pleonastiskt *icke*, t. e. *Hur vackert är icke detta!*"

Not all affirmatively phrased exclamatory sentences in which a predicate element consisting of or containing an interrogative word precedes the subject and the verb belong to the type to which Linder objects. In the citation from him there is recorded as not being subject to confusion with questions the exclamations: *Vad denna kvinnas sång är hämförandel!* and *Hur ljuvligt det känns efter regnet!* And in his quotation from Böttiger: "*Hur friskt det susar i olivebladen. . . .*" In these, it will be observed, the subject precedes the verb.

Of the exclamatory sentences cited above in illustration of stylistic variation, there is represented, with the verb placed before the subject owing to the preceding predicate element, one type without a negative and one with a negative, and both have affirmative meaning. Also the exclamations with the subject placed before the verb, which are always affirmative in form, have affirmative meaning. These occur in abundance and, as Linder clearly means to indicate, they constitute a parallel type—*Vad man får uppleva!*—existing alongside the also abundantly

¹⁸ Sundén's final example, *Minsann kom han inte ändå!*, will be discussed below, in another connection. Perhaps his intention is that this example shall represent or include the type *Är det inte vackert!* Concerning the force of the negative in exclamations of this type, see above.

¹⁹ §277, I, 2. Östergren, under *icke*, I 2, says: "Märk pleonastisk användning i ex. som: . . . Och dock huru olika åro de icke! Jfr även 3 d nedan." Cf. footnote 3.

represented type *Vad får man icke uppleva!* The type *Vad får man uppleva!* (i.e., with meaning identical with that of the same exclamation in negative form) is probably of uncommon occurrence because this other affirmatively worded type exists and because it is more satisfactory for the reason that the type *Vad får man uppleva!* too closely resembles that with the negative: a sentence otherwise identical has in that event the same meaning without and with a negative adverb.

We shall now consider the nature of the exclamatory type to which sentences like Linder's *Hur ljuvligt det känns efter regnet* belong. Let there first be cited from Gideon Danell the following:²⁰

Liksom önskesatserna kunna även utropssatserna vara fristående bisatser, ej blott *att-* och *villkorssatser* utan särskilt ofta indirekta frågesatser, inledda av interrogativa pronomen, adverb eller konjunktioner . . . Ex. *Att du inte skäms! Vilken förtjusande klänning du har! Huru vackert solen går ned! Om jag skulle ta en promenad i alla fall!*

Noreen discusses in greater detail the character of the unexpressed ideas on which such "fristående bisatser" depend:²¹

. . . Men liksom vid allt patetiskt tal överhuvud är fallet, uttrycker man sig härvidlag i regeln mycket brakylogiskt, så att det framför allt viktiga subjektiva momentet—som för resten nog i allmänhet tydligt framgår av situationen eller av talet beledsagande åtbörder, miner o. d.—endast ytterst knapphändigt kommer till språkligt uttryck, under det att själva det uppörande objektiva faktum jämförlevis utförligt omnämnes. I t. e. *att han kunde göra så* ligger icke detta yttranden raison d'être i upplysningen att "han kunde göra så," utan i den latenta fortsättningen "det kan jag icke krafftig nog uttrycka min förväning över och mitt ogillande av," vilket allt nu faktiskt uttryckes endast och allenast genom den egendomliga konstruktionen med begynnande *att* i förening med de för den ifrågavarande sinnesrörelsen specifika modulationen, intensiteten och kvantitetten. Likaså i t. e. *en sådan narr du är!* ("att jag svårligen träffat maken" eller något dylikt), *hur vackert hör är!* ("har man svårt att i ord uttrycka"), *vad du är envis!* ("är rentav häpnadsväckande"), där det är den egendomliga ordföljden samt valet av pronomina, som jämte de prosodiska egendomigheterna uppbera det speciellt exklamativa; *jfr du är en makalös narr, här är ovanligt vackert, du är fasligt envis*, meningar som alla hava en vida

²⁰ Pp. 117–118. Cf. Natanael Beckman, *Svensk språklära*⁸ (Stockholm, 1935), §226, 2, second paragraph, and Gustav Cederschiöld, *Om svenska som skriftspråk*⁸ (Lund, 1924), pp. 139–140.

²¹ Pp. 105–106.

objektivare prägel . . . Och detta prosodiska element är ensamt för sig aldeles tillräckligt för att konstituera den exclamativa meningens, ty medelst dess riktiga applicering kunna vi få även sådana konstruktioner som *du är fastigt envis, det är besynnerligt* o. d. att bli av exclamativ innebörd, något som vi i skrift ange medelst det s. k. utropstecknets, visserligen mycket vacklande, användning.

The exclamations discussed in these citations—we are here interested only in those introduced by an interrogative word or a substitute²²—are, then, in reality subordinate clauses.²³ The nature of the word order of an exclamatory sentence such as *Hur gammal han är!* becomes evident when we consider the word order in the subordinate clause of *Nu kan du se hur gammal han är*, as compared with the order of words in *Hur gammal är han?* Note, further, the sentences: *Nu först vet jag vilken kvinna du är. Gud, om du visste vad!*²⁴ *Vi ha bråkigt nul!* In these, the part beginning with the interrogative word corresponds exactly with an exclamatory sentence of the kind here under consideration. In other words, notwithstanding the initial predicate element, such exclamations have the subject before the verb.²⁵ Other character-

²² Such as *sådan*, used in one of Noreen's examples; see below.

²³ Left out of consideration in the discussion of the types *Vad får man icke uppleva!*, *Vad får man uppleva!*, and *Vad man får uppleva!* are exclamations in which the interrogative word is connected with the subject. Examples of such with negative form—corresponding to the type *Vad får man icke uppleva!*—are: . . . *ack, hur mycken hunger skall ej då vara mättad.* . . . *Vilken mängd av njutning rymdes ej inom dessa ljusliga tolv timmar.* . . . Exclamations of the subordinate-clause type (*Vad man får uppleva!*) employ the subject marker *som* (see the article "Swedish Subject Forms of Interrogative Pronouns . . .," *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 17 [1943], pp. 218–223); for examples of the use of the subject marker in exclamatory sentences of this type, see footnotes 39 and 44 (also 36), and cf. footnote 45. This leads us to conclude that we do not have the type *Vad man får uppleva!*, but the type *Vad får man uppleva!* in the final clause of the sentence: *Nästa gång—o, Gud, vad skulle hon då få se—vilket avtryck av intighet skulle möta hennes ögon!* Although the subject marker is sometimes omitted (cf. pp. 220–221 of the article mentioned), it would be mere quibbling to think of this example as belonging to the type *Vad man får uppleva!*, i.e.: *Nästa gång—o, Gud . . . vilket avtryck av intighet [som] skulle möta hennes ögon!* The word order is of necessity the same in either event—the point at issue is whether the clause introduced by the interrogative word is a principal or a subordinate clause.

²⁴ Cf. footnote 9.

²⁵ Beckman, §224, says: "Inverterad ordföljd förekommer . . . 2. Ofta och utan bestämd regel i önskesatser. Ex. *Tillkomme ditt rike!* *Måtte det gå väl!*

istics of subordinate clauses²⁶ may also be observed in exclamations of this type: (1) Position of certain adverbs and adverbial phrases between the subject and the verb. *Å, hur väl jag nu tycker, att jag kan fatta det! Vad dagen eljest måste vara lång för honom! Vad det ändå var underligt ordnat i livet! Vad sådant en gång synts mig stort!* (2) Optional omission of the tense auxiliary of the present perfect and past perfect tenses in the severe and eminent styles and in belletristic works.²⁷ The passage: *O, vad jag lidit! O, vad jag längtat, sedan jag förlorade den jag först höll kär!*

We quote now from Erik Wellander, who, in his discussion of "Det bildade talspråket," says:²⁸

Så och sådan nyttjas i stället för skriftspråkets frågepronomen i satser som dessa: Så blek hon är! Sådan figur hon har! [And in subordinate clauses dependent on an expressed principal clause:] Det var rysligt så dyrt det blev! Ingen anar, sådana svårigheter en filmman har. Så vackert det än är, så vill jag inte bo där.

And Danell writes:²⁹

... Interrogativa pronomen och adverb ersättas i detta fall i naturligt talspråk vanligen av demonstrativa ord: Så'n förtjusande klänning du har! Så vackert solen går ner! (Bisatsordföljden bibehålls dock. . . .)

The above-mentioned criteria of subordinate clauses may be observed also in these exclamatory sentences: (1) Adverbial expressions between the subject and the verb. *Så bra hon i själva verket passar att ta hand om mycket folk.* (2) Optional omission of the tense auxiliary. *Så dum hon varit, så många är hon gått och betvingat sin kärlek!*

Likaså i utropssatser. Ex. *Hur vacker är hon intel men Hur vacker hon är!*" More could have been said here.

²⁶ Cf. pp. 265-266 of the article "Swedish Words Meaning 'Perhaps,'" *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 16 (1941). Cf., further, footnote 54 of the present article and the text thereto. Also the use of the subject marker *som* is a characteristic of subordinate clauses (cf. footnote 23).

²⁷ For these terms and for a discussion of the style structure of belletristic works, see the articles "The Swedish Styles and Their Names," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. XV (1938), pp. 1-11, and "The Language of Swedish Belles-Lettres," *ibid.*, pp. 33-41.

²⁸ *Riktig svenska, En handledning i svenska språkets värld* (Stockholm, 1941), p. 44. Cf. footnote 22.

²⁹ This is a direct continuation of the citation from Danell given above.

Sometimes *där* and *här* stand before the verb; these words may then outright represent *det*, or they may embody more or less of their respective usual literal meanings.³⁰ *Å vad där fanns mycket att drömma om och spela om!* *Kors i himlen, hur här ser ut!* "Vad här e vackert!" sade Torvald andäktigt. *Hur vackert här är!*³¹ *O, så härligt här var!*³² And the passage: *Hon ser för sig hela Svartsjö socken . . . Så där ser ut!*

The type *Vad får man icke uppleva!* appertains in general to more formal style than does the type *Vad man får uppleva!*³³ It is therefore not surprising that in Oscar Levertin's *Svensk Litteratur*,³⁴ for example, we find almost exclusively the type with the negative. In belletristic prose, on the other hand, the exclamations with the word order of a subordinate clause are the ones mostly employed in conversational matter, while in the narrative text—with variation in proportion for different writers—both kinds are abundantly represented.

³⁰ This use of *där* and *här* is by no means limited to this kind of exclamatory sentences, nor indeed to exclamatory sentences: it occurs freely in most kinds of sentences.

Östergren, under *där*, A I 2 g, says: "Närmande sig ett opers. 'det.' Mest skr., (för så vitt ej den vanliga lokala bet. skiner starkt igenom). *Där växte uti Hildings gård/två planter under fostrarnas värld Tegnér. Och undersökte allt vad där fanns av ammunition.* Jfr med verklig lokal bet. t. e. *Jag öppnade, men där fanns inte en själ, men det fanns ingen där l. men ingen var där.*" [Wellander, pp. 53-54], ascribes the use of *där* for *det* to "det skånska provinsmålet": "*Där* användes i stället för det s. k. formella subjektet *det*. När Tegnér skriver *Där växte uti Hildings gård två planter eller Där låg ett uttryck i de milda dragen, så är det en skanism.*"] And, under *här*, I 2 f, Östergren says: "Närmande sig ett opers. 'det.' *Här finns mycke fisk i den här sjön.*—Mer lokalt i t. e. *Här har varit mycket resande i år. År här någon? Här är bra vackert. Bor här icke en man, som heter Fransson?*" In most of my examples the meaning is more or less literal ("lokal bet."). *Där* is then usually rendered as 'there [unstressed] . . . there [stressed]' and *här* as 'there [unstressed] . . . here' or 'it . . . here.' When these words have the outright value of *det*, they are rendered as 'there [unstressed].' For the purposes of this article it is not of importance to determine whether in a given sentence these words denote *det* or have a literal meaning. It is here only a question of their position in the sentence.

³¹ Cited by Noreen; see the last citation from him, above.

³² Cited, without comment as to *här*, by Beckman, §211, 5.

³³ The style is not formal, for example, in the case of Noreen's *Hur bär du dig (inte) då!* Cf. footnote 5.

³⁴ Vol. I (in *Samlade skrifter av Oscar Levertin*, XIII [Stockholm, 1908]).

Of the type *Vad man får uppleva!* my memoranda contain exclamatory sentences:³⁵

(1) Introduced by a word meaning 'how.' (a) *Hur(u):*³⁶ *Ah, hur Nino älskade hennel! Om jag ej vore den jag är, hur jag skulle tjäna er!* *Hur medlidsam han var mot de svaga och fattiga!* O, *huru rosenrött allting då hade tett sig!* *Hur väl jag minns denna korta tur.* (b) *Vad:* Å, *vad hon gladde sig åt att det bara var ett par dar kvar!* O, *vad de döda tingen sörjde vid hans död!* When the adverbially used *vad* modifies an adjective or another adverb, these are placed after the verb.³⁷ *Vad du är snäll mot mig, pappa!* *Vad*

³⁵ The imperative verb form *Tänk* is often found at the beginning of various kinds of sentences, as: *Tänk om båten inte var där!* *Tänk, att de inte hade gett akt på detta förut!* *Tänk att kunna resa så där och se allt vackert.* *Tänk när han skulle sjunga sedan med den rösten.* *Tänk, nu smattrade det åter på plåtlaket.* Examples that specifically interest us are: *Tänk, vilken ryslig fantasi det fordrats, för att hitta på alla dessa gräsligheter!* *Tänk vad vi veta litet!* *Tänk vad livet har varit skönt och så det blivit.* *Tänk sådana människor kan vara!* *Tänk, så den kungen boddet!* *Tänk, så roligt du ska få!* To be sure, we often use expressions similar to this in English, yet by no means so freely.

³⁶ Occasionally, *all*, *allt*, *alla* are used in exclamatory sentences of this type in place of, respectively, *hur mycket*, *hur mycket*, *hur många*. *Allt man skulle uppleva när man blev mindre trött* (Eyvind Johnson, *Slutspelet i ungdomen* [Stockholm, 1937], p. 357)! Observe, besides the clause with *alla*, the co-ordinate clause with initial *hur* in the passage: *Det hade varit hans andra hem, och det hade varit som en skola på samma gång: Alla böcker han lånat och läst, hur han i templet lärt att yttra sig, att skriva protokoll, att leda ett möte* (Vilhelm Moberg, *Soldat med brutet gevär* [Stockholm, 1944], p. 341). Note *för alla de gånger* in: *Ack, för alla de gånger hon sett dessa människor glada på sin gärd . . .* (Selma Lagerlöf, *Antikrists mirakler* [Stockholm, 1907], p. 264). That these clauses containing forms of *all* have the structure of subordinate clauses is evidenced by the position of subject and verb and, in two of the sentences, by the omission of the tense auxiliary. Note also this sentence introduced by *Tänk* (cf. the preceding footnote), which employs with an object what is normally a subject marker (cf. footnote 23 and see p. 223 and footnote 7 of the article there mentioned): *Tänk, alla koraler och psalmer och allt sorgesus, som det gott ifrån sig* (Olle Hedberg, *Mota Olle i grind* [Stockholm, 1938], p. 188). Cf. the sentence with the synonymous *hur många* (modifying the object)+*som*: *Den sämste köraren bestämde farten och hur många vindor, som laget hann med* (Vilhelm Moberg, *Soldat med brutet gevär*, p. 226).

³⁷ My collections of examples contain several exclamatory sentences, all from Gösta Gustaf-Janson's *Stora famnen* (Stockholm, 1940), in which *vad* is directly followed by an adjective or an adverb—clearly a feature of lax, perhaps

den är ljus och trevlig, solig och öppen! Vad de som aldrig behöva tänka äro olyckliga. Vad de göra väl, de, som hålla sina händer frän svärdet. . . .³⁸ Vad det var längesedan "Röda rummet" såg dagens ljus, ett kvarts sekel sedan! (c) Så.³⁹ Stackars gosse, så han vändats och längtat! Så du har vuxit! Hell dig, vackra skärgård, så din morgonbris kan friska på! Å, så du säger!⁴⁰ Så ni pratar! Så bra hon i själva verket passar att ta hand om mycket folk. Tusan så grann du är. O, så mycket stryk jag fick! Så många gånger Andrias och hon suttit så här i skogen. (d) Så som, så . . . som.⁴¹ Så som modifies verbs. Så som han fick arbeta hela dagarna! Och så som solen sken den morgonen! Så som han ansträngt sig för att vinna henne också! Så . . . som modifies adjectives and adverbs. Och så nödvändigt, som det var, att hon blev fri, så att hon fick tala vid prästdottra och fru Beata! Så glad som hon var över att hennes fastman var officer! Och så förträffligt, som det gått för mig med studierna! And the passage: "Dumbom," sade hon. "Så full som

of sectional lax, style: *Jäla, vad dött och trist det skulle bli, om man inte hörde grannens radio, va* (p. 159)? O, vad hemskt stilig den där skänken är (p. 251). Note also: O, vad mycket vackra saker morbror har (p. 251). [Since this footnote was written, I have found further examples in several books.]

³⁸ The adverb *väl*, modified by *vad*, stands between the subject and the verb in the sentence: *Vad Niklas väl kunde se Goldenburg framför sig* (Olle Hedberg, *Rymmare och fasttagare* [Stockholm, 1930], p. 122)! And in: "O," sade hon sorgsamt, då han slutat, "vad jag väl känner igen detta" (Selma Lagerlöf, *Gösta Berlings saga*¹² [Stockholm, 1909], p. 548)!"

³⁹ *Som* is employed as a subject marker (cf. footnote 23) in the sentences: *Men o så mycket som följe med detta ändd. Och så mycket svamp, som växt upp under natten. . . . Så många munnar som nu skulle mätta!* Cf. *Men det är märkvärtigt så många gamla männskor, som bor i Lidalycke.* The employment of the subject marker in these sentences is due to the presence of *mycket* (*mycken*) and *många* after *så*; cf. p. 223 of the article mentioned in footnote 23.

In the first clause of the following sentence the adjective modified by *så* follows the verb just as it normally does when it is modified by *vad*: *Nej, så luften då hade varit full av profetior, och så säkert han hade troll, att Gud hade tillämnat något stort* (Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem*⁸, I [Stockholm, 1908], p. 111)!

⁴⁰ Cf. "Nej, vad du säger!" svarade hon, under subdivision 3, below. Neither of these sentences can, to be sure, be literally rendered by, respectively, 'how' and 'what.'

⁴¹ Concerning *så* (*mycken*, etc.) . . . *som* in which *som* is a subject marker, cf. footnote 39, first paragraph.

du ärl!" (e) *Som*:⁴² *Men som de kördel Ack, som vi prata i vår lilla stad!*⁴³ *Usch, Anna Johanna, som du bär dig åt!* *Som hon kunde skratta, som hon kunde dansa, överdådig som en sann sibiriskal*

(2) Introduced by an adjective meaning 'what, what a.' (a) *Vilken:*⁴⁴ . . . *vilken vacker septemberdag det var! Å, vilka stormar de hade prövat, vilka äventyr de hade bestått!* *Vilken dumhom han hade varit. Ack, vilken skugga nöden och hårdheten kastade över unga grevinnans själl* (b) *Vad . . . för (en): Vad man är för ett underligt kreatur!* *Oj, oj, oj, vad det blev för uppståndelse!* *Vad ungdom har för en förmåga att föryngrat!* *Vad du har för en präktig brosch!* (c) *(En) så(d)an:*⁴⁵ *Älskling, en sådan härlig dag vi haft, du.* "Å, ett sådant elände detta ärl!" *viskar hon till grevinnan. Sådant liv det blev!* *Såna enastående präktiga flickor hon hade.* (d) *(En) sådan . . . som:*⁴⁶ "Och en sådan gård, som du har!" *tänkte han, som plöjde. Ett sådant väder som det var också varenda dag. Sådana blusar som hon hade till sin promenaddräkt sedan. Ack en sådan glädje och förväntan, som Fra Felice känt.* . . . (e)

⁴² Wellander, pp. 53–54, ascribes this use of *som* to "det skånska provinsmålet." He says: "I utrop användes *som* [i skånskt provinsmål] i stället för frågeord eller *så*: *Som han ser ut!* (= *Vad, Så*). Likaså: *Det är obegripligt, som han kan arbeta* (= *vad*)."⁴⁷ Attention might be called to: *Tänk som han hjälpte henne, då hon gjorde dumheter ibland.* . . . Cf. footnote 35.

⁴³ Cited by Östergren, without mention of any sectional limitation, under *som*, B III.

⁴⁴ *Som* is employed as a subject marker (cf. footnote 23) in the sentence: *Och vad det arbetades där och vilka fantasier som föddes i denna lya!*

⁴⁵ Observe the sentence: *Och en sådan praktsom skymtade fram genom den öppna porten.* . . . And the following sentence, the first clause of which was cited in footnote 39, first paragraph: *Och så mycket svamp, som växte upp under natten, sådana granna, gula kantareller, som stodo och lyste på marken!* It is not possible to determine whether in these sentences *som* is the subject marker (cf. footnote 23) for *sådan* or whether *sådan . . . som* here is identical with (*en*) *sådan . . . som* of 2, d, below (cf. the second paragraph of the following footnote).

⁴⁶ Concerning *sådan . . . som* in which *som* may be the subject marker, cf. the preceding footnote.

⁴⁷ It would seem that *sådan . . . som*, with reference to its *som*, is to be compared with *så som*, *så . . . som* of 1, d, above, and with (*en*) *så . . . som* of 2, f, below; it does not seem likely that *som* in the sentences of subdivision d is the subject marker employed with an object (cf. footnote 36, end).

(En) *så*:⁴⁷ *Så vackra kvällar vi ha nu . . . [Sic!]* (f) (En) *så . . . som*:⁴⁸ *Ett så strålande väder som de fått. Så lustiga visor som han sjöng.* (g) *Sicken (en): Sickna skepparhistorier gubben kommer med.*⁴⁹ (h) *Tocken (en): "Och tocket ett stolligt ögonbryn jag har," sade Betty. . . . "Tocke stiggt vär' vi har," sade mor Inga. . . .*⁵⁰ *"Tockna egen ho' har," tänkte Erik. . . .*

(3) Introduced by a pronoun meaning 'what.' *Vad: Kors, vad du kunnat ställa till!* "Nej, vad su säger!" svarade hon. *Vad han allt tänkt, känt och skrivit, vilken uthållighet och vilket temperament!*

By no means uncommon are instances of stylistic variation in which exclamatory sentences of the types *Vad får man icke uppleva!* and *Vad man får uppleva!* are juxtaposed.⁵¹ (1) *Ack, hur skulle inte hon känna sig olycklig, om hon inte fick stanna på Lövdala!* *Hur hon skulle vantrivas i det främmandel!* (2) *Vilken kavaljer förlorade ej Värmland, då gikten förstelnade hans ben och stora knölar växte ut över ledgångarna!* *Vilken kavaljer han varit, så smärt, så vacker, så ridderlig!* (3) *Vilken fruktansvärd tid vi genomlevat sedan Verdunslaget!* *Och hur ångestfylda ha icke de sista mänaderna varit!* (4) *Och vad ett harspår kan berätta!* *Hur har icke haren tryckt av sin själ, sin sinnesstämning i varje spår!* (5) *Så den mannen kunde konversera!* *Med vilken blomstrande*

⁴⁷ There is available to me no example with *en* *så*, but observe: *Tänk, ett så gott hem jag skulle kunna reda honom här!* Cf. footnote 35.

When (*en*) *så* (cf. *så*, 1, c, above) modifies attributive descriptive adjectives, the more commonly employed English equivalent is 'what, what a,' although 'how, how . . . a' may be used instead, at least in most instances.

⁴⁸ When (*en*) *så . . . som* (cf. 1, d, above) modifies attributive descriptive adjectives, the English rendition is the same as that described for (*en*) *så* in the second paragraph of the preceding footnote.

⁴⁹ Cited by Östergren, under *sicken*. Concerning this word, he says: "Vard. l. folkl." This characterization would apply equally to *tocken*, under subdivision h, below. There is available to me no example with *sicken en*.

⁵⁰ There will be encountered in this article an occasional more or less accurately reproduced dialectal sentence or dialectal expression; such occur now and then, usually in conversational material, in belletristic prose.

⁵¹ There also often occur instances of stylistic variation involving sentences belonging to the type *Vad man får uppleva!* (1) *Hur han hade älskat henne!* *Gud, vad han hade älskat henne!* (2) "Stackars liten," viskade han, "så ensam du var mitt i din stadt och så ensam nul . . . Och hur ensam jag står här med mitt brott!"

spansk retorik rullade han inte på tungan de mest högtflytande fraser!

Also these passages disprove Sundén's statement in which he ascribes to negatively phrased exclamatory sentences "den talanden väntan på . . . instämmande i utropet."

While there have earlier in our account been given examples of stylistic variation involving the types *Vad får man icke uppleva!* and *Vad får man uppleva!*, and now examples of variation involving the types *Vad får man icke uppleva!* and *Vad man får uppleva!*, I have observed no instance of stylistic variation embracing the types *Vad får man uppleva!* and *Vad man får uppleva!* Leaving out of consideration the fact that sentences of the type *Vad får man uppleva!* are in themselves not of frequent occurrence, the reason is, obviously, that it would be disturbing to the reader to find juxtaposed or in proximity exclamatory sentences in which there would be no difference in form except that the position of subject and verb would be reversed.

We have seen in the citation from Sundén the example *Minsann kom han inte ändå!*, which was merely given as an illustration in connection with his statement relative to the import of the use of the negative adverb.⁶² The category to which this example belongs has been disregarded by the grammars.⁶³ We shall turn now to the consideration of exclamatory sentences of this kind—they belong to an interesting type.

The reader is asked to observe the following situation: (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative. *Minsann jag vet om du har rätt eller ej!* (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. *Minsann kom han inte ändå! Minsann var hon inte riktig brydd.* It will be noted that in the sentences containing a negative adverb the verb precedes the subject, while in the one without a negative the subject precedes the verb.

In the case of exclamations of the types *Vad får man icke*

⁶² It is to be inferred that Östergren considers as pleonastic the negative adverb of the final example in the citation from him in the second paragraph of footnote 3. This example is of the same type as Sundén's *Minsann kom han inte ändå!*

⁶³ Cf., however, in footnote 72, the citation from Linder, who indirectly points to its existence. Cf. also footnote 81. To be sure, the grammars occasionally cite such sentences, but in some other connection.

uppleval and *Vad får man uppleval* the meaning is affirmative whether the negative is employed or not; and the meaning is also affirmative in exclamations of the type *Vad man får uppleval!* The exclamatory sentences of these three types begin with an interrogative (or, in the case of the last-mentioned type, often with a demonstrative) word. But in the category we are now considering, in which there is an initial asseveratory expression and in which there is no interrogative (or substitute demonstrative) word, the affirmatively phrased sentences have negative meaning, and the negatively phrased sentences have affirmative meaning.

In the sentence *Minsann jag vet om du har rätt eller ej!*—we shall first examine the exclamations with affirmative form—in which, notwithstanding the initial adverb, the subject precedes the verb, we have before us a subordinate clause no less than in the sentence *Hur gammal han är!* Also exclamations introduced by asseveratory expressions—these are by no means limited to *minsann*—have the specific characteristics of subordinate clauses: (1) Position of certain adverbs and adverbial phrases between the subject and the verb. "*Sannerligen jag nu förstår hur du menar det,*" *sa* då *Ulvdsäfrun.* (2) Optional omission of the tense auxiliary in the present perfect and past perfect tenses. *Underklassen är offrad för överklassen, men min själ den offrat sig godvilligt.* (3) The occasional placement of the finite verb at the end of the clause.⁵⁴ *Nej, sannerligen jag det vill!*⁵⁵

The subordinating agent is absent from the examples just cited, and it is indeed usually not present in exclamatory sentences of this kind. Yet it is sometimes expressed. *Oj Nej, sannerligen om jag begrep det. Ja, sannerligen,*⁵⁶ *om jag det kunde be-*

⁵⁴ See Beckman, §225, Anm. 3; cf. §217, Anm. 2, b. A number of examples with the verb so placed will be met in the following pages.

⁵⁵ Cited by Östergren, under *sannerligen*.

Note the introductory *Nej* in this sentence. We often find expressed: (1) the word *nej* (the presence of which is however not a proof of negative meaning of the following clause—and sometimes *ja* occurs instead when the following clause has negative meaning [cf. footnote 2]) or (2) a negative word in the context. Sometimes the context in some way provides negative setting without actually containing a negative word. Often, however, it is only the general situation that makes clear the presence of negative meaning.

⁵⁶ In most instances a comma does not follow the asseveratory expression.

*gripa.*⁵⁷ *Jag begriper det inte, sannerligen om jag gör det!* *Sannerligen, om jag längre kommer ihåg det. . . . Sannerligen om hon levde efter den rena luterska lära, som hon skulle fostra barnen i.* *Vid Gud, om jag det gör!*⁵⁸ “*Nej, så sant om jag gör,*” svarade portvakten.⁵⁹ And the passages: (a) “*Jag har alltid hört att flickor tycker bäst om mörka karlar*” . . . “*Sannerligen om jag har märkt det själv,*” sa han. (b) “*Inga Enelius, en typisk liten pereferimänniska*” var det enda omdöme han någonsin fällt om denna sin obetydliga kusin. Men så sannerligen, om de där ögonen satt i huvudet på en pereferimänniska! Beckman cites,⁶⁰ with indication for optional use of *om*: *Sannerligen (om) jag det vet.*

Exclamatory sentences of this type are also encountered in which there is no introductory asseveratory expression but in which *om* stands at the beginning of the clause.⁶¹ (*Sannerligen, om jag begriper ett skapat grand (av det här)!*)⁶² “*Gruva meg, om je har så mickje som ett gusslän brännvin i stuggu,*” svarade gumman. . . .⁶³ *Nej, om jag kan tala längre!*⁶⁴ And the passages: (a) “*Om jag någonsin mer skall smaka vin!*” tänkte konungen. “*Jag skulle icke kunna bära, om man berättade att jag lallat på målet och tagit pagerna i famn.*”⁶⁵ (b) “*Är det dina egna pengar eller kungspengar?*” “*Om jag det vet!*”⁶⁶ (c) “*Nu kommer de och köper,*” tänkte hon och fick nytt mod. *Men nej, om de köpte!* *Det var inte deras mening, utan. . . .*⁶⁷

Although, thus, the conjunction *om* ‘if’ has been left unex-

⁵⁷ Cited by Östergren, under *sannerligen*.

⁵⁸ Cited by Östergren, under *Gud*, B I 2 a.

⁵⁹ Cited by Östergren, under *sann*, I 2 d.

⁶⁰ §225, Anm. 3. It is cited by him in another connection; cf. footnote 54.

⁶¹ Most exclamatory sentences beginning with *om* do not belong here, but are of other types; for instance: *Nej, om hon vetat hur han kände det, då han kom hem från jakten!*

⁶² Cited by Östergren, under *om*, 3.

⁶³ Mathilda Roos, *Helgsmäldsklockan*², I (Stockholm, 1910), p. 188. In a footnote, *Gruva meg* is by the author defined as “*Ve mig,*” which approximately corresponds to *ack*.

⁶⁴ Verner von Heidenstam, *Karolinerna*. Ny upplaga, illustrerad av E. v. Strokirch. Första samlingen (Stockholm, 1905), p. 48.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Andra samlingen, p. 127.

⁶⁷ Selma Lagerlöf, *Liljecronas hem* (Stockholm, 1912), p. 86.

pressed in sentences of the type *Minsann jag vet . . .*, the subject is nevertheless not placed after the verb.⁶⁸

Of the corresponding exclamatory sentences which contain a negative adverb, as *Minsann kom han inte ändå!*, my own collections of examples contain only one sentence in which there is an asseveratory expression followed by *om*: *Sannerligen om inte glögggen behövdes!*^{68a} But Östergren cites:⁶⁹ *Minsann, om det inte var Jehubba?* This is no doubt in fact—notwithstanding the question mark—⁷⁰ an exclamatory sentence. And there will be found below a group of examples of negatively worded exclamations which have asseveratory expressions of profane character followed by *om*—such are of exactly the same type as those we are here discussing.

There are in my collections only two examples of negatively phrased exclamatory sentences in which there is no asseveratory expression but in which *om* stands alone at the beginning of the clause. “*Gruva meg, om he int’ ä Lisal!*” *uibrast Stina, då gestalten kom fram till bron. . . .*⁷¹ And the passage: *Hon var förundrad först, men så började hon förstå: han trodde sannerligen,*⁷² att han

⁶⁸ Cf. the normal *Om han kommer . . . > Kommer han. . . .* The word order, then, does not always change when *om* is omitted. This situation obtains also elsewhere in Swedish syntax; cf. Sundén, §251, 9, and Beckman, §224, 5, b.

^{68a} Märta Oléhn, *Ett år till* (Stockholm, 1944), p. 102.

⁶⁹ Under *minsann*.

⁷⁰ Cf. footnote 11.

⁷¹ Mathilda Roos, *Helgsmålsklockan*, II, p. 151. Cf. footnote 63.

⁷² The asseveratory expressions are, as here *sannerligen*, also employed like the English adverbs ‘really, truly, indeed.’ “*Jag får sannerligen lov att jaga henne bort,*” säger han. *Han, som stod därute, jo, det var minsann prästen i Finnerud, pastor Liljecrona. Det är vid Gud int’ lätt att bli männska. Jag får verkeligen tala om hur tokigt det hände en gång i slutet av september. Men jag gör min själ inte om det.* When these words, so used, begin a sentence: (1) They may be construed as predicate elements. *Minsann predikade han ändå rätt bra, så losing han var. Så sant je lever d’ befallningsman int’ hemma.* And the passages: (a) “*Är inte professorn (=‘you’) medicinare?” “Jo, sannerligen är jag det.”* (b) “*Det är någon som ropar i trädgårn! Hör du inte?” Pastorn lyssnade . . . “Ja, min själ gör det så! Vem . . . kan det vara?”* (2) They may be considered as standing outside the clause (like *ja, nej*), in which event the subject precedes the verb; in this case a comma is often employed (cf. footnote 56). *Ah, om du skyndar på, så kan du vara igen innan det blir slut . . . men du shall ha ett krus öl först, Gerhard; min själ, du shall ha ett krus öl, se så! Sannerligen, Margareta, du nästan förskräcker*

*skulle kunna gå ifrån hennel Ja, om han inte trodde det . . . [Sic!]*⁷³

It need be borne in mind that exclamations corresponding to the question type *Heter han inte Pettersson?* are with respect to the position of subject and verb identical with conditional clauses when the word meaning 'if' is not expressed,⁷⁴ that is, both of these categories have the word order of, for example, *Kom han inte . . .* Therefore due consideration must also be given to the existence of this exclamatory type—*Minsann om han inte kom ändål: Kom han inte ändål: Minsann kom han inte ändål*

Sannerligen is the asseveratory expression most often employed to introduce exclamations of the kind we have been considering in the last several pages. (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative. *Sannerligen jag vet vad vi skall göra . . . [Sic!] Josefina Segerholm tyckte detta var förskräckligt pinsamt, men sannerligen hon kunde låna ut pengar eller gå i borgen för att Helfrid Laurells pojkar skulle få uppfostran och utbildning. Vi ha en varm, härlig sommar ännu, och sannerligen man behöver några resfilter att svepa in sig i.* And the passages: (a) *Men sannerligen det var lätt för Konstantin att skynda sig. Skoskavet plågade honom vid varje steg.* (b) *Vad var det nu?—Sannerligen jag minns . . . Vänta, jag skall nog komma på det!* (c) *Nej, sannerligen jag ville vara i hennes ställe och resa dit hon nu reser!* *Nej, sannerligen!* In

mig. And: (a) *Han berömmes den gamla arbeterskan. Ja, minsann, han berömmes hennel* (b) *Sannerligen Selma Lagerlöfs sjül har vandrat genom många åldrar och gestalter [as in transmigration]. Hon har varit en isgrå vala i den bortesta forntiden, ständigt i stormen, en lösyr, bortrövd jarlsdotter och en ångerfull klostespåkerska, trollpacka, helgon, häxa och trälindra och ännu mera till.* The reader will readily recognize what it is that in each instance makes it clear that the clause following the asseveratory expression does not have negative meaning. In the examples cited here under subdivisions (1) and (2), there is, except for one sentence, affirmative wording. With regard to clauses having negative wording, Linder, §111, 19, says: "För att ge full klarhet åt innehållet torde det vara bäst att i satser som föregås av emfatiska uttryck: *sannerligen, vid Gud, så sant mig Gud hjälpe m. fl.*, nyttja rak ordföljd, när innehållet är nekande." An example is: *Nej, sannerligen, han var inte riktigt frisk ännu. . .* If one did not follow Linder's recommendation, such sentences could, at least in most instances, be taken to have affirmative meaning, owing to their identity with the type *Minsann kom han inte ändål*

⁷³ Vilhelm Moberg, *Sankt sedebetyg*¹⁷ (Stockholm, 1939), p. 387.

⁷⁴ Cf. the first sentence of footnote 68.

the following passage we find *här* used in lieu of *det*:⁷⁵ *Och du skall ge akt på mors porträtt, då de unga karlarna fria till dig. Sannerligen här finnes någon i hela fiskläget, som förstår sig på giftasaffärer bättre än det porträlet.* There may be present one of the adverbs *heller*, *alls*, which are all but exclusively employed in sentences containing a negative expression or in one way or another involving negative meaning.⁷⁶ *Meyers lexikon vet inte om det skall sätta dig bland luftandarna eller vattendemonerna, och sannerligen jag vet det heller.* *Sannerligen någon annan människa än hon skulle alls ha funderat på en sådan sak.* And the passage: *Sannerligen jag lätta dig sitta i släden och satt mig själv här bakpå, om jag vetat det.* *Sannerligen jag alls velat köra för dig.* (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. “*Titta,*” *viskade fru Tallman, “sannerligen är han inte efter den där koketta varelsen!”* *Sannerligen,⁷⁷ hade han inte kåda i håret också!* *Nå, sannerligen ser han ej något svart och stort komma över fälten fram mot vedskjulet, det måste vara björnen.* “*Ja, sannerligen tror jag inte det är en rövare Anna Lisa har blivit gift med!*” *sade gubben. Och om det är han, sannerligen skulle jag inte vilja gå upp och skaka om honom egenhändigt och tala om vad han har ställt till.* “*Sannerligen, Galenas,*” *sade han, “ville jag inte gärna följa dig på denna resa, men jag fruktar att jag måste bedja dig landsätta mig i Bajæ.”* And the passage: *Ett ärligt behov av hennes värme . . . det var vad hon ville möta hos korrespondenten.* *Och sannerligen mötte hon inte just detta!* *Deras brevväxling blev som ett rus.*

In *Liljecronas hem*⁷⁸ Selma Lagerlöf uses *verkeligen* instead of *sannerligen* as an asseveratory word. (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative. *Men verkeligen hon ändå var fullt lugn, så länge hon var borta, utan hennes tankar var hemma hos söta far alla dagar och undrade om han relades med stackars Vabitz.* Observe in this sentence the presence of the conjunction *utan*, which requires a preceding negative or a preceding expression

⁷⁵ Cf. footnote 30.

⁷⁶ When not so employed, *alls* occurs only in the expression *alls om alls*, and *heller* belongs to the lax style or is archaic; cf. Östergren, under these words.

⁷⁷ Cf. footnote 56.

⁷⁸ Stockholm, 1912.

which in some way has negative meaning.⁷⁹ (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. In almost all of the many occurrences in the book, the clause following *verkeligen* has negative form. *Verkeligen var inte prästen mycket vacker med sin ställiga figur och sina blixtrande, blå ögon. Verkeligen var inte äpplena så präktiga, att man talade om dem i hela trakten. Verkeligen är jag intet rätt brydd att skriva . . . men jag ber, att välaktade jungfrun själv måtte eftertänka.*

Also *minsann* is frequently encountered. Of sentences introduced with this word there have been cited above one with affirmative wording and negative meaning (*Minsann jag vet om du har rätt eller ej!*) and two with negative wording and affirmative meaning. My collections contain no further examples with affirmative wording. Additional illustrations of exclamations having negative form and affirmative meaning are: *Minsann tror jag inte, att jag ser i syne mitt på ljusa dagen! Nej, minsann, tror jag inte jag glömt den! Och minsann höjer han inte piskan med den vassa tagelsnärten, som om han tänkte slå till hustrun och barnet. Jo, minsann stod den inte där. Minsann styrde hon inte kurs rätt på prästgården. Minsann är inte silvret svart!*

Min själ is employed somewhat less often than *minsann*. (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative. *Ja min själ jag ville vara i häradshördingens kläder och döma i det här målet.* And the

⁷⁹ Beckman, §184, 2, says: "Utan fordrar i samordningens första led en ut-satt negation (*ej, icke, aldrig, ingen* o. d.). Är däremot negationen endast antydd genom ett annat ord, så bör en annan konjunktion användas." Similarly, Wellander, pp. 364–365, and Danell, p. 100. But Sundén, §274, Anm. 3, 3, says: "Konjunkt. *utan* fordrar en negation i samordningens I:sta led och betyder då 'men i stället.' Även när negationen är blott antydd genom ett annat ord, mötes ej sällan *utan* i litteraturen, t. e. *Filosofen ger fan att sitta stilla i det tråkiga Uppsala utan far omkring i provinserna. (Atterbom, Brev.)*" Sundén's treatment has likely profited from the criticism of Beckman's statement by Ruben G:son Berg, *Språk och stil*, Vol. VI (1906), pp. 127–128. Sundén's (and Beckman's) words "genom ett annat ord", are not well chosen, since even in the example cited by Sundén it is not just one word that provides the negative meaning. Cf., further, my example: *Men verkeligen hon ändå var fullt lugn . . . utan. . . .* Note also: *Nu har jag svårt att säga något mer, utan jag tystnar, och då frågar far . . .* (Selma Lagerlöf, *Jerusalem*, I, p. 17). Better would have been "in some other way."

passage: "Det är väl överdrifter!" "Nej, min själ, det är överdrifter!" (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. *Min själ tror jag inte han bleknar!* And the passages: (a) "Han är blind . . . [Sic!]" "Ja, min själ, tror jag inte!" (b) *Min själ tror jag inte du är min son.*—*Tag hit näven!* (c) *Trodde du, att jag ville skjuta dig?* *Va?—Min själ tror jag inte, du tänkte det!*

Sometimes the expression *vid Gud* is used. (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative. The passage: "Menar du att jag äger hemliga sårbara punkter?" "Nej, vid Gud jag det menadel!" (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. *Vid Gud, såg han inte till och med en gammal präst förstulet sticka en duodesvolym under sulanen. . . . Vid Gud tror jag icke I svärmar.*

There shall here be grouped together sentences with various asseveratory expressions. (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative.⁸⁰ *Jag tror inte på det ändå, nej så sant jag det gör.* And, in dialect: "*Tromme je he gör!*" *utropade hon. . . .*⁸¹ (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. "*I dag har vår lilla silkesråta mycket att styra med,*" *muttrade han med sitt vackraste leende, "men sanne mig, börjar hon inte sluta upp att bitas!"* *Så sant jag lever var det inte vårt eget dyra modermål.* *Så sant som jag lever, är det ej åbrodd och lavendel och hägg och syren och pingstliljor.* *Och nu skall du höra mig, eller så sant det finns en rättsfördig Gud i himmelen!* *tar jag icke ner ditt hus (Strindberg)!* *I den heliga rättfärdighetens namn skola vi ej nu kasta oss över kavaljererna och trampa dem till stoft under järnskodda klackar!*

Also asseveratory expressions of profane character⁸² may be employed to introduce the kind of exclamatory sentences we are discussing.⁸³ (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative. *Nej, så ta mig tusan jag det gör!* *Jag har varit i stan hela dagen,*

⁸⁰ Cf. also the sentence cited above among the examples having asseveratory expressions followed by *om*: "Nej, så sant om jag gör," *svarade portvakten.*

⁸¹ Mathilda Roos, *Helsgmålsklockan*, I, p. 152. In a footnote the author explains *Tromme* as "Egentl. *tro* mig, nekande utrop." The meaning is thus approximately that of *sannerligen*.

⁸² Also asseveratory expressions of profane character may, in addition to other uses, be employed like the English adverbs 'really, truly, indeed'; cf. footnote 72. *Då ska' vi tag mig fan härifrån, då' det snart ändå. Då var de min sju inte mycket att väga livet för. Nu skulle det förbaske mig bli skönt att sova.*

⁸³ The exclamatory sentences here cited are in no way different in type from the sentences with asseveratory expressions which have already been discussed.

men jag träffade på vaktmästar Svensson och han bjöd på frukost, och förbaska mej den har blåst av än. [He had imbibed too freely.] "Har du brev från henne själv, som visar, att hon är skyldig, så näggum du får resa härifrån, utan att jag har fått se det," sade prostinnan, som blev så häpen och ivrig, att hon fick en svordom över läpparna. And the passages: (a) *Jag förstår sannerligen inte ett ord av vad du säger . . . Tag mig tusan jag begriper något!* (b) "Ja tro han så uss," fortsatte Andrias, "men han velle int lätas om att—men han kunne int lätta vära å kumma tebaks. Jamengo, han de kunnel!" Note the use of *här*⁸⁴ in the passage: *Slå dank, det kan man, läsa i bok, pränta och snacka. Skam i den här blir skick någonsin!*⁸⁵ Cf. also: *I helvete jag gråter . . . Har annat att göra.* (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. *Du pinar livet ur mig och ta mig fan flyttar jag inte, om du fortsätter på det här viset. Tag mig hin, är det inte allt lågt beräknat. . . . Förbanne mej*

The segregation was made only for the reason that it seemed desirable to illustrate one by one the relatively few—but frequently used—asseveratory expressions of non-profane character.

J. E. Hylén, in the article "Ett par skolgrammatiska frågor," *Språk och stil*, Vol. XIV (1914), p. 148, says: "För övrigt kan man få se rak ordföljd efter *så*, där den ej verkar stel och tillkonstlad utan snarare bärer av det levande talets livlighet: Jag håller en märlspik på en syskonhake, att fick Ottilia sin varma mat, så fan i mig hon skulle tala om Plato! (Strindberg, *Giftas I* [Ljus], 138). Kristin visste med sig själv, att om hon skulle haft något att säga över någon, så kanske inte heller hon alltid skulle varit så snäll (Hallström, *Briljantsm.*⁴⁵³)."⁸⁶ In the article "The Resumptive Use of *Så* in Swedish," *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 18 (1945), footnote 12, Hylén's statement was criticized with reference to the latter of his examples for the reason that the position of subject and verb is due to the presence of *kanske*—it is the word order of a subordinate clause: *kanske (att) . . . (kanske) may, to be sure, also be followed by verb+subject*). In the former of the two examples we have a normal specimen of the affirmative exclamations with negative meaning preceded by an asseveratory expression, and the word order is therefore also here that of a subordinate clause. There can indeed be no doubt but that Hylén had in mind exactly this situation with reference to both sentences—notwithstanding the wording of my earlier criticism—but the statement preceding the examples needs elucidation with regard to its application to grammatical usage.

⁸⁴ Cf. footnote 30.

⁸⁵ August Strindberg, *Samlade dramatiska arbeten*. "Romantiska dramer," 1 (Stockholm, 1903), p. 456. I take *Skam i den* to be an asseveratory expression of profane character (*skam* = 'the devil'). Compare, with wholly different meaning, the non-asseveratory ('Shame on him, who . . .'): *Skam den, som sviker i dryckjom och skämt på ett gravöhl!*

klarar hon sig inte, lilla larmpottan. Ja, min sju⁸⁶ va dä inte Adell Djävulen martere mig, tror jag inte du har fått horn, Kajsa! Djäkeln antura, höll ja int på o bränna ve toet. . . . "Anfärta," ubrast gamle Jan bredvid honom, "träffade du inte karlen ändå!" Djur och djävlar i min slänggunga, har människan inte tagit in brännvinet! Cf. also: "Nå djäveln, ha vi inte gått galet!" brummade han. . . .

The conjunction *om* is frequently found after asseveratory expressions of profane character. (1) Affirmative form—the meaning is negative. *Jag har sovit i lador och svinställar, men ta mig tusan djävlar om jag varit med om sådant något* (Strindberg)! "*Jag har inte skjutit mer än tre björnar, fan anamma om jag har skjutit flera!*" säger han. *Jag satt bredvid henne en gång, och fördöme mig om jag fick ett ljud ur flickan mellan soppan och desserten!* Förbanne *l.* förbanne mig, om jag det vet.⁸⁷ Nej så fan om jag gråter för det här, tänkte han och sväljde. "*Min sju om jag tror på det där tramsel!*" sa far en kväll.⁸⁸ And the passages: (a) *Jästingen i mej om jag frågar efter er och alla era svarta fulingar . . . Inte mer än så frågar jag efter er . . . [Sic!]* (b) "*Ser inte direktörn (= 'you'), att det är så mycket fläsk det går i dem?*" klagade fru *Ladolén* i sin resignerat gnällande ton. "*Nej, så snyt mig om näsan med alla svedda svansar i helvete om jag det gör!*" (c) "*Då är den väl alldelens utslitna då,*" sade Olof. "*Nej så—(io, han klämde till med det) fördömdade mej om den är!*" (d) "*Varför kallar du mig Kej-Ej?*" "*Det är ju namnet,*" sa Jack. "*Nä, så djävlar och stövelklackar om det det är.*" (e) *Och han ville inte ha någon annan människa att tacka för hjälpen. Nej, så fan i helvete, om han ville det!* (f) *Hade du det? Fan—om jag tror'et efter denna kväll!* (2) Negative form—the meaning is affirmative. *Förbanne mig, om käringen inte hade svärtade ögonbryn och var hårt smin-*

⁸⁶ Some of our readers may be unacquainted with this expression. Östergren, under *sju*, II 1, gives its synonyms as follows: 'sjutton,' 'katten' o. d.; (min s.) *minsann*, 'min liv och kniv!.' The expression *min liv och kniv* he defines, under *liv*, A IV, as 'sydsvenskt (milt) svordomsuttr.' Elof Hellquist, in *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*² (Lund, 1939), says, under 2. *sju*: "*sju* i den sydv. svordomen *min sju* är en i anslutning till *sju* . . . företagen eufemistisk ombildning av *min själ*. . . ."

⁸⁷ Cited by Östergren, under *förbanna*, II 1.

⁸⁸ Cited by Östergren, under *sju*, II 1.

kad. . . Förbanne mig, om jag inte gör det! Porträtt också, och ta mig tusan, om du inte är i smoking. Ta mej så tusan om ja int ska gi han en döaskall me masjöboen! Så fan om han inte skulle lära småpojkarna att bete sig mot gammalt folk. . . Jädrar och stövelstroppar om det inte kurrar igen . . . [Sic!] Det var väl hundra gubbar, om inte det ska honoreras. Noteworthy is the final sentence of the following passage: [A sentry is up in a tree for the purpose of observation:] *Men vänta, det var inte ryska . . . [Sic!] Hörde ni på de båda förposterna, som ropade till varann! Så sant jag lever var det inte vårt eget dyras modernmål.⁸⁹ Om jag inte hörde sju gånger fan [the word *fan*], så ta mig fan!⁹⁰* Here the if-clause is placed first, and followed up with resumptive *så* and the imperative asseveratory expression.

In my collections of examples, it was stated above, there is present only one negatively phrased exclamation with a non-profanee asseveratory expression followed by the conjunction *om*,⁹¹ this is beyond doubt purely accidental—in any event the similar sentences introduced by asseveratory expressions of profane character are fully satisfactory substitutes.⁹²

Sentences—without and with a negative adverb—in which *om* alone opens the exclamatory clause, as illustrated above in the discussion of the use of non-profanee asseveratory expressions, stand in the same relation to exclamations preceded by asseveratory expressions of profane character as to those preceded by other asseveratory expressions.

⁸⁹ This sentence was cited above, under "various asseveratory expressions."

⁹⁰ Verner von Heidenstam, *Karolinerna*, I, p. 160.

⁹¹ Also, one example was cited from Östergren.

⁹² Cf. footnote 83, first paragraph.

IBSEN AND THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE

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THE first Parisian performance of an Ibsen play was that of *Ghosts* at the Théâtre-Libre under the direction of André Antoine; and the outstanding champion of Ibsen in France from the beginning to the end of his career as director of the Théâtre de l'Œuvre was Lugné-Poe.¹ Both the Théâtre-Libre and the Théâtre de l'Œuvre were experimental theaters, "théâtres d'avant-garde" with a highly selective clientele, not commercial theaters dependent on the favor of the general public. Of the two "premières" of Ibsen plays given by regular theaters, that of *Hedda Gabler* at the Théâtre du Vaudeville, December 17, 1891, was a flat failure because of the stupid acting of Mlle Brandes in the title rôle, while that of *A Doll's House* at the same theater, April 20, 1894, was a success, thanks to the brilliant acting of Réjane in the rôle of Nora.² Under these circumstances, the majority of the French critics steadily insisted on the inconclusive nature of the evidence to be derived from all these tests of Ibsen's adaptability to the French stage. Indeed, from the French point of view there could be only one adequate test, for Ibsen as for any other dramatist, viz., that of a performance at the Comédie-Française. Fully aware of this attitude, both Antoine and Lugné-Poe strove long and earnestly to bring about such a performance, inveighing bitterly against the national theater's obstinate refusal to recognize a dramatist whose fame was world-wide and whose genius was acknowledged by the very French critics who had earlier denied it. We shall see that they were successful in this campaign only after thirty years of persistent efforts, and even then under conditions that doomed the experiment to failure.

¹ See my articles, "Ibsen's *Ghosts* at the Théâtre-Libre," *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 16 (1941), pp. 281-290, and "An Ibsen Theatre in Paris," *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 17 (1942), pp. 133-139.

² *A Doll's House* received a private performance in the salon of Mme Auberon, in 1892, as did also *John Gabriel Borkman*, in 1897. The Cercle des Escholiers produced *The Lady from the Sea*, under the direction of Lugné-Poe, in 1892, before the organization of the Théâtre de l'Œuvre.

Since Lugné-Poe continued as director of the Théâtre de l'Œuvre throughout his career, he was seldom in a position to bring Ibsen before "le grand public." Occasionally, however, his troupe was invited to give a "matinée littéraire" or even a whole series of performances at one of the regular theaters, and Lugné-Poe took advantage of these opportunities to acquaint theatergoers outside of his own circle with his beloved Ibsen. And in the many articles which he published in newspapers and magazines, he constantly reiterated his favorite theme: "Il appartiendra à quelque judicieux administrateur d'un de nos théâtres subventionnés de ne pas se laisser prolonger l'exil [d'Ibsen] sur les scènes d'avant garde."³

The "judicieux administrateur" invoked by Lugné-Poe proved to be none other than his old rival André Antoine. When the Théâtre-Libre failed in 1894, Antoine was forced to give up the name of the theater along with the troupe, and when, in 1897, he was enabled to re-establish himself in Paris, it was in a commercial theater under the name of Théâtre Antoine. In his first season at the new theater, Antoine determined to give a trial performance of *Ghosts*. Under date of February 6, 1898, he makes the following entry in his journal: "*Les Revenants*, traduction Darzens. Le grand public fait un tel accueil au chef-d'œuvre que je sens qu'il sera possible enfin de le garder à notre répertoire."⁴ Again, in 1903, after three successive performances of the same play, he comments: "Eh bien, les recettes ont été magnifiques . . . Décidément, Ibsen finira par pénétrer dans le grand public."⁵ The month of May 1906, the very month of Ibsen's death, was devoted by Antoine to a more daring experiment: *The Wild Duck* was kept on the boards for the entire month with wholly satisfactory results.⁶

With these performances of *The Wild Duck*, Antoine bade farewell to the Théâtre Antoine, since he had already been ap-

³ Lugné-Poe, "Le Théâtre d'Ibsen en France," *Revue d'art dramatique*, April 1898, p. 20.

⁴ André Antoine, *Mes Souvenirs sur le Théâtre-Libre et sur l'Odéon* (Paris, 1928), p. 129.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 278 and 286.

pointed director of the nationally subventioned Odéon, the so-called "second Théâtre-Français." Here he at once proceeded to make some radical departures from the routine and traditions of this conservative establishment, including, among other changes, the presentation of numerous foreign authors. Mindful of the success of *The Wild Duck* at the Théâtre Antoine, he opened his second season at the Odéon with that play on September 27, 1907. The significance of this occasion did not escape Edmond Stoullig, chronicler of the French stage, who comments thus: "Cette soirée était une date de l'histoire de l'Ibsénisme en France. C'est en effet la première fois qu'une œuvre du grand écrivain scandinave était représentée sur une scène subventionnée . . . Le drame émouvant d'Ibsen n'a rien perdu en passant sur une scène plus vaste."⁷ It was thus another "first" for Antoine, but not without the collaboration of Lugné-Poe, who, as the official French representative of Ibsen since 1903, was in a position to withhold authorization of the performance. *Ghosts* followed later in this season, and the comment of Stoullig is again laudatory: "Les matinées classiques se terminaient sur une belle représentation des *Revenants*, d'Henrik Ibsen. Jouée devant une salle comble, après une brillante conférence de M. Léopold Lacour, la pièce produisait un très grand effet."⁸ Both plays were "reprise" by Antoine on numerous occasions, and with uniform success.

And still the Comédie-Française remained deaf to the admonitions of Lugné-Poe and of many other admirers of Ibsen. As the threat of war became even more disquieting, the Comédie gave fewer and fewer performances of foreign authors. In the minds of many, Ibsen was associated with things German, and particularly so because of the fact that in the schools Ibsen was often read in German translation.⁹ The favorable reception that Ibsen had been accorded in Germany from the beginning, to-

⁷ Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique, année 1907* (Paris, 1908), p. 179. I call attention to the inaccuracy of my statement in this regard in the first of the articles referred to in footnote 1, above.

⁸ *Ibid., Année 1909* (Paris, 1909), pp. 174-175.

⁹ The late Professor Paul Hazard once stated to the writer that, as a student, he had made the acquaintance of Ibsen's plays through German translations.

gether with the efforts of the Germans to claim him for themselves, was calculated to make the official French attitude hostile toward him. It is easy to understand, then, why an Ibsen performance during the period 1913-1919 should have been out of the question for the Comédie-Française.

But no sooner had the war ended than a reaction against this chauvinism in matters of art manifested itself in the French theater. Striking proof of this change of spirit is the intense interest aroused at this time by the drama of Pirandello, whose genius was recognized in France even before the Italians themselves became aware of it. Undoubtedly it was Lugné-Poe who again directed the attention of dramatic critics and producers to his favorite author by the long series of Ibsen performances with which he reopened the Théâtre de l'Œuvre in 1919. The Comédie-Française finally consented to give Ibsen a trial.

The choice of *An Enemy of the People* was dictated by such considerations as the fact that, popularly, it was the best known of all Ibsen's plays, thanks to its earlier association with the Dreyfus case, and also because, of all the plays, it is most nearly in conformity with the French tradition, particularly that of the thesis play as perfected by Dumas fils. Jean Lescoffier, in his review of the performance, referred to it as "l'œuvre la plus adaptée au goût français après *Maison de poupe*."¹⁰ Likewise, Léo Claretie characterized it as "parmi ses œuvres une des plus accessibles, des plus objectives."¹¹ It seems highly probable that Lugné-Poe, who had himself selected this play for presentation in celebrating Ibsen's seventieth birthday and whose prestige was now considerable even in official circles, had been consulted in the matter.

The dramatic "consecration" of Ibsen in France by the Comédie-Française took place June 20, 1921.¹² René Doumic, the only surviving critic of first rank who had witnessed the be-

¹⁰ Jean Lescoffier, "À propos d'un 'Ennemi du peuple,'" *Revue de France*, August 15, 1921, p. 856.

¹¹ Léo Claretie, in *Revue Mondiale*, July 15, 1921, p. 213.

¹² This is the date given by Aynard, *Almanac des théâtres. Année 1922*. A. Dikka Reque, *Trois Auteurs dramatiques scandinaves, Ibsen, Björnson, Strindberg, devant la critique française, 1889-1901* (Paris, 1930), dates the performance as of June 15, 1921.

ginnings of the Ibsen invasion, gives us the following characterization of the general tone of the performance:

Les premiers interprètes d'Ibsen étaient avant tout soucieux de paraître ibséniens très ibséniens: ils en ajoutaient. Ils s'appliquaient avec conscience à déconcerter le public, ils s'ingéniaient à des étrangetés qui étaient à leurs yeux le comble de l'ibsénisme. Ils avaient tout le temps l'air de nous dire: "voyez comme je suis Scandinave!" Persuadés, tout au contraire, qu'il n'y a dans l'humanité qu'un certain nombre de types, comme il n'y a au théâtre qu'un nombre connu de situations, les acteurs de la Comédie-Française n'ont pas cru nécessaire, pour devenir des personnages d'Ibsen, d'oublier tous ceux qu'ils avaient interprétés jusqu'alors.¹³

The tendency here described by Doumic, to react against the earlier interpretations of Ibsen's plays and assimilate the personages of Ibsen's drama to the conventional characters of the French stage, seems to have been carried to great extremes by Féraudy in the rôle of Stockmann:

Il faut mettre hors de pair M. de Féraudy, qui nous a présenté du docteur Stockmann une création des plus originales. Est-ce tout à fait le personnage d'Ibsen? En tout cas, ce n'est pas celui qu'on nous avait montré jusqu'ici et avec qui nous étions familiarisés. Nous voyions surtout en lui l'ardeur du combattif, la flamme de l'illuminé, l'intransigeance du révolutionnaire. M. de Féraudy lui a prêté une âme assez différente. Il lui a généreusement fait don de toutes les qualités qui sont celles mêmes que nous avons coutume de goûter dans le jeu de M. de Féraudy: finesse, mesure, sentiment des nuances, art des sous-entendus, ironie légère, bonhomie narquoise.¹⁴

One may well echo Doumic's query: "Est-ce tout à fait le personnage d'Ibsen?" Certainly Féraudy's Stockmann, with his "finesse, mesure, sentiment des nuances," was the very antithesis of Ibsen's character as understood by William Archer, who insists on Stockmann's glowing indignation, his "boisterous geniality, loquacity, irrepressible rashness of utterance, and total absence of self-criticism and self-irony."¹⁵ And one is inclined to wonder if the "mauvaise humeur" of the "purs ibséniens," of which Doumic ironically speaks, may not have had a

¹³ René Doumic, "Ibsen à la Comédie-Française," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 15, 1921, pp. 463-464.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-467.

¹⁵ *Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen* (New York, 1923). Introduction to *An Enemy of the People*, p. xiv.

more respectable basis than the jealousy and egotism to which the critic attributes it.

As for the attitude of the Comédie-Française audience as a whole, Doumic tells us that it was "attentif, intéressé, ému et respectueux de cet art austère et probe."¹⁶ These are stock phrases employed by French dramatic critics to designate a "succès d'estime," as distinguished from a genuine success, and it seems fairly certain that Léo Claretie is being more polite than sincere when he refers to the performance as "un triomphe pour Ibsen, et aussi pour Lugné-Poe qui fut son infatigable apôtre parmi nous."¹⁷ Claretie, who, in the early days of the Ibsen controversy had actively opposed all foreign influences, maliciously adds: "Elle [la pièce] a permis de constater derechef avec quelle puissance Ibsen a refondu dans sa propre substance tout ce qu'il a pu puiser dans notre théâtre."¹⁸ Similarly, Doumic: "Je ne vois plus aujourd'hui comment on pourrait contester que *l'Ennemi du peuple* soit une pièce à thèse, conçue suivant un violent parti pris et résolument systématique, c'est à dire pareille, dans sa constitution, à toutes les pièces à thèse de chez nous et d'ailleurs."¹⁹ In other words, *An Enemy of the People* could easily have been written by Dumas fils.

There is a measure of truth in this attitude. William Archer had long before pointed out the fact that *An Enemy of the People* occupies a place apart in the dramatic production of Ibsen, hence cannot be considered truly representative:

Of all Ibsen's plays, *An Enemy of the People* is the least poetical, the least imaginative, the one which makes least appeal to our sensibilities . . . It is a straightforward satiric comedy, dealing exclusively with the everyday prose of life. We have only to compare it with its immediate predecessor, *Ghosts*, and its immediate successor, *The Wild Duck*, to feel how absolutely different is the imaginative effort involved in it.²⁰

In the same vein, the French critic Lescouffier, while admitting, as we have seen, that *An Enemy of the People* is well suited for

¹⁶ Doumic, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

¹⁷ Claretie, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Doumic, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

²⁰ Introduction to *An Enemy of the People*.

performance before a French audience, raises the question: "Peut-on prétendre après cela qu' *Un Ennemi du peuple* donne au spectateur d'un soir une juste idée du théâtre d'Ibsen?" He replies in the negative, and adds:

On veut espérer que la Comédie-Française suivra, fût-ce de loin, l'exemple donné par M. Lugné-Poe. À défaut de *Brand* et de *Peer Gynt*, si humains et si norvégiens à la fois, elle pourrait tenter d'amener son public jusqu'à ces hauts sommets de l'art où règnent désormais . . . le *Canard sauvage* et *Rosmersholm*. Alors seulement le Théâtre-Français aura rendu pleinement hommage au plus âpre et au plus profond des dramaturges du XIXe siècle.²¹

The Comédie-Française did consent to give Ibsen a second trial, but not with *The Wild Duck* or *Rosmersholm*, as sensibly suggested by Lescoffier. Instead, *Hedda Gabler* was selected this time, presumably in part for reasons similar to those that had led to the choice of *An Enemy of the People* for the first performance, but also because of the fact that Mme Piérat, now a member of the troupe of the Comédie-Française, had earlier starred in the rôle of Hedda while with Lugné-Poe at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre.

Hedda Gabler was performed at the Comédie-Française March 9, 1925. Mme Piérat, to whom the title rôle was naturally entrusted, instead of making Hedda a simple variant of familiar French dramatic personages, as Féraudy seems to have done for Stockmann, made every effort to preserve and emphasize the originality of Ibsen's character creation. The results were not very happy. In his review of the performance, the celebrated critic Paul Souday says:

Ibsen est un maître . . . Il mérite d'être accueilli chez Molière. Cette fois, la vérité m'oblige à dire qu'il y a été accueilli un peu froidement. La faute en est pour une part aux comédiens . . . Mme Piérat a délibérément éteint son jeu, et par contre-coup celui de ses camarades . . . Ce parti pris de grisaille et de demi-deuil n'a pas rendu la pièce très amusante . . . Toute la responsabilité de l'erreur n'incombe pas cette fois à M. Lugné-Poe . . . *Hedda Gabler* n'a pas été très bien jouée, mais est sans doute injouable et faite pour être lue.²²

Lugné-Poe immediately came to the defense of Mme Piérat, his former disciple, congratulating her on having "si admirablement compris la fameuse héroïne," and asserting that the initi-

²¹ Jean Lescoffier, *op. cit.*, p. 859.

²² Paul Souday, in *Revue de Paris*, May 1, 1925, p. 199.

ated would recognize her interpretation as the best: "C'est une grandiose création et tous les Norvégiens qui aiment Ibsen partagent mon sentiment." To what extent this controversy influenced Mme Piérat in her decision, made at this time, to withdraw from the Comédie-Française is not very clear, but Lugné-Poe implies that it was a factor, when he sarcastically asks: "Comment Mme M.-T. Piérat pourrait-elle s'adapter à l'atmosphère de la Comédie-Française après une telle création?"²³

Other critics, adopting Jules Lemaitre's theory that "Henrik Ibsen a voulu faire d'*Hedda Gabler* une synthèse caricaturale de la femme septentrionale," praised Grandval for having "interprété le rôle de Tesman dans cette tonalité d'ironie" and insisted that the performance would have been much more successful if Mme Piérat had followed his example.²⁴ André Billy, while asserting that "cette pièce n'a pas de sens, ou elle est la satire la plus féroce qu'on ait faite de l'ibsénisme nietzschéen," does not believe that Ibsen intended that it should be played "dans le ton de la bouffonnerie," and doubts that either Mme Piérat or M. Grandval had seriously misinterpreted the author. He concludes that, questions of interpretation apart, "*Hedda Gabler* a trompé l'espoir que les amateurs de haut théâtre avaient fondé sur son entrée au répertoire de la Comédie-Française. À quoi bon le cacher? Cette soirée a été un peu la revanche de Sarcey."²⁵

This second attempt having proved even less successful than the first, it is not surprising that in 1928, when the whole theater world was celebrating the centenary of Ibsen, the Comédie-Française should have taken no note of the event. In his long article on Ibsen, published on this occasion, Henry Bernstein comments: "La France laisse passer ce centenaire dans une indifférence à peu près complète. La Comédie-Française se souvient du double échec de *l'Ennemi du peuple* et d'*Hedda Gabler*; elle reste silencieuse."²⁶

Ibsen's dismal failure at the Comédie-Française, following

²³ Lugné-Poe, "Hedda Gabler et Mme Piérat," in *Revue Mondiale*, March-April 1925, pp. 259-265.

²⁴ Henri Austruy, in *La Nouvelle Revue*, April 1, 1925, pp. 264-267.

²⁵ André Billy, in *Mercure de France*, April 1, 1925, pp. 186-188.

²⁶ Henry Bernstein, "Ibsen," *Revue de Paris*, April 1, 1928, p. 497.

his many triumphs at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, the Théâtre Antoine and, more particularly, at the "second Théâtre-Français," the Odéon, can be explained only in part by outward circumstances: the choice of the two plays was bad in that *An Enemy of the People*, in so far as it is a thesis play, seemed an anachronism in the post-war period of skepticism and disillusionment,²⁷ while *Hedda Gabler*, evoking an out-moded type associated with Romanticism, could only mystify or amuse in an epoch when, as Doumic ironically remarks, "la femme fatale ne fait plus recette."²⁸ Uncertainty and eccentricity of interpretation likewise contributed to this failure. *Rosmersholm*, *The Wild Duck*, and *The Master Builder* would have been quite in keeping with the spirit of the times and would have brought out better the originality of Ibsen, but these were apparently avoided as too disconcerting for a Comédie-Française audience. It must be, then, in the special "atmosphère de la Comédie-Française," to which Lugné-Poe alludes, that the true cause of Ibsen's failure at that theater should be sought. Just what this atmosphere was can best be determined by an examination of the many imitations and adaptations of Ibsen's plays that were performed by the Comédie-Française with more success than attended the performance of *An Enemy of the People* and *Hedda Gabler*. An attempt at such an analysis will be made in a later study.

²⁷ Cf. E. M. Coindreau, *La Farce est jouée*, (New York, 1942), Chapter I.

²⁸ René Doumic, "Hedda Gabler à la Comédie-Française," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15, 1925, p. 932.

IRREGULARITIES IN THE OLD NORSE SUBSTANTIVE DECLENSIONS

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A SYSTEMATIC investigation of declensional irregularities is one of the neglected phases of ON morphology. The following discussion has to do chiefly with various shifts of declension and of declensional endings in the ON substantive paradigms. Many of the examples discussed have already been pointed out in our ON grammars but have been left—usually in footnotes—either without explanation or insufficiently clarified. There have also been articles and monographs dealing, directly or indirectly, with some of these questions, but in none of these—so far as I know—have the irregularities treated in this discussion been satisfactorily clarified. Since the problem necessarily involves the influence of analogy and is often concerned with a number of probabilities, the conclusions reached must necessarily be considered to a large degree as tentative.

I. Shift of Declension

1) *From the Weak into the Strong Declension; Names of Animals;* *Qrn* 'Eagle,' *Bjorn* 'Bear,' *u-Stems*, but *Hrafn* 'Raven,' *a-Stem*. The final *-n* of these substantives is of secondary origin, the result of the *n*-suffix of the original weak declension (cf. ON *ar-i*, *ber-a* fem.: OHG *ber-o*, *rab-o*). Obviously, the new stems **arn-* and **bern-* passed over into the *u*-declension (**arn-UR*>*qrn*, **bern-UR*>*bjorn*) after the pattern of the original *u*-declension of substantives denoting male animals, such as *golr* 'boar,' *hjortr* 'stag,' *kollr* 'cat' (from MLat. *cattus*), *mqlr* 'moth,' *mqrðr* 'marten.' In view of this fact we should expect *hrafn* 'raven,' which likewise denotes an animal, to have passed over into the *u*-stems (i.e., **hrafn-UR*>**hraqfn*) instead of into the *a*-declension. The counter influence which checked this tendency in favor of the *a*-stems may have been furnished by the example of the neuter *a-stem nafn* 'name,' which likewise represents the shift from the weak to the strong declension (cf. Goth. *nam-*

δ:nam-nē, gen. plur.), the point of contact being the final combination *-fn* of the root (cf. **hrq-fn:na-fn*). On account of the loss of the masc. ending *-r* in the nom. sing. an original form **hrafn* (<**hrafn-ur*) could have easily been supplanted by *hrafn* in conformity with the neut. *a*-stem *nafn* and thus have passed over into the *a*-declension without shift of gender. The examples of this type of the strong declension (derived from the weak declension with suffixed *-n*) constitute such a restricted category that the influence of one word with similar stem form upon another is highly probable.

2) *Eng 'Meadow': A Shift from the iō-Decension into the jō-Decension.* The substantive *eng* is regularly declined as a (short) *jō*-stem. But since the stem *eng-* is long, we may assume that it originally belonged to the (long) *iō*-stems (i.e., **engr*, **eng-jar*, **eng-i*, **engi*, etc.) but suffered a heteroclisis into the (short) *jō*-stems. This heteroclisis was no doubt due to the preservation of the *j*-suffix after *g* in both declensions, whereby the declensional endings for both stems coincided except in the nom., dat., and acc. sing. forms:

	Sing.		Plur.
	<i>iō-</i>	<i>jō-</i>	<i>iō-/jō-</i>
Nom.	<i>*eng-r</i>	<i>eng</i>	<i>eng-jar</i>
Gen.	<i>eng-jar</i>	<i>eng-jar</i>	<i>eng-ja</i>
Dat.	<i>*eng-i</i>	<i>eng-(ju)</i>	<i>eng-jum</i>
Acc.	<i>*eng-i</i>	<i>eng</i>	<i>eng-jar</i>

The substitution of the forms of the *jō*-declension in the nom., dat., and acc. sing. of the original *iō*-declension was all that was necessary to transfer the word completely into the *jō*-declension.

3) *Sekkr 'Sack': A Shift from the u-Decension into the i-Decension.* *Sekkr* is a loan word from Lat. *saccus* (<Grk. *σάκκος*). We should therefore have expected a form **søkkr* (<**sakkur*=Goth. *sakkus*) of the *u*-declension, parallel to *køltr* (<**køttur* from MLat. *cattus*). An original form **søkkr* could have easily been displaced by the form *sekkr* after the pattern of the type *bekkr* 'bench,' *hlekkr* 'chain,' *hrekkr* 'deceit,' *stekkr* 'sheepfold' of the *i*-stems, the point of contact being the *-kk-* after the radical

vowel. The form *kottr* 'cat' was in keeping with the *u*-declension of native nouns denoting male animals (cf. I, 1, above), whereas *sekkr* 'sack' denoted an inanimate object and hence followed the example of a native type which did not characterize animals (cf. Goth. *waddjus* 'wall' > ON *veggr*, *i*-stem).

4) *Hjorr* 'Sword': *A Shift from the u-Decension into the wa-Decension.* On account of the *-y*:*-w* in the suffix syllable of these two declensions with the resultant *u*:*w*-umlaut of the radical vowel there are many examples of the intermixture of declensional endings, but *hjorr* represents the only example of an original *u*-stem (cf. Goth. *hastrus*) which has suffered a complete heteroclisis into the *wa*-stems.¹ Whereas the element *-or* may account for the fundamental contact between *hjor-r* and the *wa*-stems in *-or-* (cf. *bqr-r*, *hqr-r*, *spqr-r*, etc.), it does not satisfactorily explain the heteroclisis in that all other *u*-stems of the *-or*-type remained exempt from this heteroclisis (cf. *vqr-r*, *knqr-r*). This discrepancy can perhaps be explained on the ground that *hjor-r* followed the example of the *wa*-stem *hor-r* because the two forms of the nom. sing. were identical except for the *j* (cf. *horrr*:*hjorr*). The initial *h* in *horrr*:*hjorr* may, therefore, have furnished the final factor in this heteroclisis and at the same time explain why it was restricted to this one example of the *u*-stems.

5) *Kyern* 'Mill': *A Shift from the u-Decension into the ö-Decension.* ON *kyern* is regularly declined as an *ö*-stem, but originally it must have represented an *u*-stem (probably feminine), as Goth. *qatrñus* indicates. The heteroclisis from the *u*- into the *ö*-declension may easily be explained on the ground that the nom. sing. of both declensions was identical in form (**kyern-ur* > **kyernr* > **kyernn* > *kyern* without ending as in the *ö*-stems). On account of the absence of the *u*-breaking (*e*>*io*), due to the *y* before *e*, and on account of the disappearance of the nom. sing. ending *-R* (through assimilation of *-R* to *-n* after *rn-*) the nom. sing. form *kyern* no longer had the appearance of an *u*-stem and consequently passed over into the *ö*-declension (with the endings of the fem. *i*-stems also in the plur.).

¹ Only the gen. sing. form *hjarar* (alongside *hjers* of the *wa*-declension) reveals the original *u*-declension of *hjorr*.

II. Borrowing of Declensional Endings²

1) *Sporr* 'Sparrow.' *Sporr* represents the only example of an original *wa*-stem which has taken over the endings of the *u*-declension throughout the plur. paradigm (*sperr-ir*, *sparr-a*, *sporr-um*, *sperr-i*), alongside the regular forms of the *wa*-declension (*sporv-ar*, *-a*, *-um*, *-a*). These secondary *u*-forms have preserved the inorganic *-r* of the nom. sing. form *spor-r* (cf. the gen. sing. form *sparr-ar* of the *u*-declension alongside the regular form *spors* of the *wa*-declension). The *u*-forms are undoubtedly due to the fact that *sporr* 'sparrow' denotes an animal and thus easily conformed to the pattern of the *u*-stems denoting male animals (cf. *kottr*: *kettir*, hence *sporr*: *sperrir*).

2) *Øss* 'a God,' *Ørr* 'Messenger,' *Bolkr* 'Beam.' In the plur. paradigm of these *u*-stems there occasionally occur, alongside the regular forms (*ðs-ir*, *ðs-a*, *ðs-um*, *ðs-i*, etc.), secondary forms of the *a*-declension (*ðs-ar*, *ðs-a*, *ðs-um*, *ðs-a*, etc.). The point of contact between the two declensions must have been the gen. and dat. forms (*ðs-a*, *ðs-um*), which were identical for both declensions. But since this heteroclisis in the plur. paradigm was restricted to these *u*-stems with radical vowel *ø:ø* (< **æ:æ*), we may assume that the decisive factor in the borrowing of the endings of the *a*-declension in the nom. and acc. forms was the substitution of the radical vowels *æ:æ* for *ø:ø* in the nom. sing. form (cf. *ass* for *øss*, due to the influence of gen. sing. form *ðs-ar*). Since the vowel *æ* was characteristic of the *a*-declension over against the umlauted vowel *ø* of the *u*-declension³ (cf. *øss* with *vættr*), the proportion *ðs-s*:*ðs-ar* in the sing. paradigm could easily have led to *ðs-ar*:*ðs-a* of the plur. paradigm, which in turn led to the acc. plur. form *ðs-a* of the *a*-declension. That the endings of the *a*-declension in the nom. and acc. plur. forms of the *u*-stem *øss* 'a god' were not necessarily due to contamination with the *a*-stem *ass* 'beam,' as Bethge⁴ assumes, is clear from the

² Borrowing of declensional endings may cause a partial declensional heteroclisis. Such examples are included under category II in preference to category I, with the exception of *hjorr*, where only one distinct case form of the original declension is preserved (cf. footnote 1).

³ Cf. *balk-r* (for *bolkr*), which led to the gen. sing. form *balk-s* of the *a*-declension alongside the regular form *balk-ar* of the *u*-declension.

⁴ In Dieter's *Laut- und Formenlehre der alth. Dialekte*, §367, 2, Anm. 2:

parallel forms of *orr* and *bqlkr* (cf. *ár-ar:ára*, *balk-ar:balk-a*).

3) *Limr*, 'Branch, Twig.' The substantive *limr* is regularly declined as an *u*-stem, but in the nom. plur. there appears, alongside the regular form *lim-ir*, the form *lim-ar* (both masc. and fem.). Since the *u*-stems with radical vowel *i* otherwise never show this variance in the nom. plur. ending, we may assume that the form *lim-ar* (alongside *lim-ir*) was due to the semantic influence of some substantive with the nom. plur. endings *-ir:-ar*. Such a substantive is the fem. *ō*-stem *grein* 'branch, twig, limb,' which in the nom. plur. appears also with the ending *-ir* (*grein-ar*, *grein-ir*). Because of the convergence in meaning between *limr* and *grein* the secondary form *lim-ar* could easily have arisen under the influence of *grein-ar* according to the proportion *grein-ir:lim-ir*, *grein-ar:lim-ar*. This assumption is all the more plausible in that the form *lim-ar* suffered a shift of gender from masc. to fem. in accord with the fem. form *grein-ar*.

4) *Dogg*, 'Dew,' *Qr* 'Arrow.' These two *wō*-stems have, alongside the regular plur. forms (*dogg-var*, *qr-var*, etc.), the secondary forms of the *i*-declension (*dagg-ir*, *ar-ir*, etc.). The point of contact for this heteroclisis must have been the nom.-dat.-acc. sing. forms and the dat. plur. form, in which the radical vowel (*ø*) and the ending (*-um*) were identical in both declensions (cf. *qxl:dogg*, nom.-dat.-acc., *qxl-um:dogg-um*, dat.; hence *axl-ir:dagg-ir*). But this proportion exists likewise between the *wō*- and the pure *ō*-stems (cf. *sog:dogg*, *sog-um:dogg-um*). That the proportional analogy resulted in favor of the *i*-stems, instead of the *ō*-stems, may be due to the tendency in the later language for the *ō*-stems to pass over into the *i*-stems in the plur. paradigm⁵ (cf. *før*, *hltt*, *leið*, *reið*, *vøk*, etc.). The influence of the fem. *i*-declension is also apparent in the late dat. sing. form *dogg-u* with *u*-ending (cf. *rødd-u*, *rest-u* of the *i*-declension).

5) *Herra* 'Sir,' *Sira* 'Sir,' *Postola* 'Apostle,' *Profeta* 'Prophet.' With the exception of *herra*, these substantives represent loan words from the ecclesiastical Latin. They all represent masc. weak nouns of the *an*-declension, and with the exception of *sira* they all appear most often with the regular ending *-e (-i)* in the

"... *ðss* (später *ðss*), 'gott' (pl. *ðsar* neben *ðsir*, gen. sg. *ðss* neben *ðsar*, offenbar verwirrt mit *ðss* pl. *ðsar* 'balken'). . . ."

⁵ Cf. Noreen, *Altisl. und Altnorw. Grammatik*, §376.

nom. sing. form; i.e., *herr-e*, *sir-a* (but ONorw. *sir-i*), *postol-e*, *profet-e*. The point of departure for this leveling of the sing. paradigm in favor of the oblique forms in *-a* was most probably furnished by the example of the loan word *profet-a* = Lat. *prophet-a*, nom. sing., hence the ecclesiastical words *postol-a*, *sir-a*, nom. sing. The nom. sing. form *herr-a* 'Sir' was most probably due to the direct influence of its ecclesiastical counterpart *sir-a* 'Sir.' The assumption that the leveling in question was due to Lat. influence is supported by the fact that only these nouns of the masc. *an*-declension appear with the ending *-a* of the oblique cases in the nom. sing.⁶

6) *Bröðir* 'Brother,' *Faðir* 'Father.' For the regular gen. sing. forms *bröð-ur*, *fjöð-ur* there occasionally appear (cf. *St. Hom.*, *Cod. Tunsb.*) the forms *bröð-or-s*, *fjöð-ur-s* with *s*-ending. This *s*-ending must have been taken from the *a*-declension after the analogy of substantives with the suffix *-ur-* (cf. *fjöt-ur-s*, *jöð-ur-s* with *bröð-or-s*, *fjöð-ur-s*).

In compounds (and later as a simplex) the sing. form *-fjöðr* appears as an *a*-stem (cf. *Val-fjöðr*, *fjöðrs*, *-fjöðr*, *-fjöðr*). Here the point of contact with the *a*-stems was most probably furnished by the acc. form *-fjöðr* < PGmc **faðrum* (= Lat. *patrem*), which functioned as the new *a*-stem according to the type *naðr*: *naðr-s* with organic *-r*. The dat. form *-fjöðr* (instead of **fjöðr-i*, cf. *naðr-i*) could have been borrowed from the acc. case form *-fjöðr* after the pattern of the simplex dat. sing. form *fjöður* (for *fjöðr*) borrowed from the acc. case form *fjöður*.

7) *Klē* 'Stone,' *Lē* 'Scythe.' These substantives represent contracted *an*-stems. Aside from the regular forms of the sing. paradigm (*klē*, *kljá*; *lē*, *ljá*) there also occur the irregular nom. sing. forms *kljár*, *ljár*. The explanation of this new type of nom. sing. form involves two distinct problems; viz., (1) why the *-r* was added to the nom. sing. form, and (2) why it was added to the oblique stem in *-já* instead of to the nom. sing. stem in *-ē* (i.e., **klē-r*, **lē-r*).

⁶ The nom. form *pá* 'peacock' (alongside *pá-i*) probably does not represent the transference of the oblique form *pá* into the nom. case but the nom. form of the Middle English *pá* (cf. A. Kock, *IF.*, Vol. V, p. 166), which was introduced into ON. The nom. form *pá-i* is, therefore, probably of analogical origin.

⁷ 'Used for tightening the warp of a loom.'

(1) The nom. sing. ending *-r* was undoubtedly due to the influence of the masc. monosyllabic *a*-stems ending in a vowel (cf. *jō-r*, *mō-r*, etc.). Many of these stems represent contracted forms (cf. *jō-r* < **ehw-aR*).

(2) In accord with this pattern of the *a*-stems with constant radical vowel throughout the sing. paradigm (*jō-r*, *jō-s*, *jō*, *jō*) the radical vowel *ē* of the nom. sing. forms (*klē*, *lē*) was discarded for the vowel (diphthong) *jā* of the oblique cases (*kljā-r*, *ljā-r*) inasmuch as the oblique cases occurred with greater frequency than did the one nom. case form. The contracted forms then appeared with constant radical vowel in conformity with the *a*-stems ending in a vowel (cf. *kljā-r*, *kljā* with *jō-r*, [jō-s], *jō*, *jō*). The assumption that the nom. sing. forms *kljār*, *ljār* were due to the influence of the monosyllabic *a*-stems ending in a vowel is supported by the fact that none of the contracted masc. *an*-stems which had *dissyllabic* forms in the sing. paradigm added the *r*-ending in the nom. sing. (cf. *Vē* [never **Vē-r*], *Vē-a*; *ā-i* [never **ā-ir*], *ā*, etc.).

III. Miscellaneous Irregularities

1) *Skōr*, 'Shoe.' Besides the regular forms of the nom. and acc. plur., *skō-ar*, *skō-a*, there appear in the later language the monosyllabic forms *skōr*, *skō*. Since the dissyllabic vowels *ōa* are not regularly contracted to *ō*, the monosyllabic forms *skōr* (for *skō-ar*), *skō* (for *skō-a*) must be of analogical origin. They are best explained as the sing. forms used in a collective sense (i.e., 'a pair of shoes'; cf. Norw. *sko*, sing. and plur.). This explanation is supported by the fact that none other of the masc. *a*-stems ending in a vowel appears with the sing. forms in the plur. paradigm.

2) *Niō:Niō-ar* 'the Waning Moon.' The substantive *niō* appears in the plur. as a neuter *ja*-stem, often without the regular *j*-suffix (cf. *niō*; *niō[j]a*, *niō[j]um*, *niō*), to denote the phases of the waning moon. But occasionally there occur also the plur. forms of a fem. *ō*-stem (*niō-ar*, *-a*, *-um*, *-ar*) in the same sense. Both declensions probably represent substantivized forms of an adjective **niōr* 'down' (cf. the adverb *niōr*). Hence it is possible that the fem. *ō*-declension represents the substantivized forms of the fem. plur. adj. *niō-ar* originally agreeing with some

fem. noun,⁸ such as *stundar* 'hours' or *tiðir* 'periods of time,' which was later omitted (cf. *niðar* [*stundar*] = 'periods when the moon goes down' with *stundar dags* 'hours of the day'). The fem. plur. forms of the substantive could all the more easily supplant the neut. forms in that the two declensions converged in the gen. and dat. cases (*nið-a*, *nið-um*); hence *nið-ar*, nom.-acc., for *nið*, nom.-acc.

3) *The Loss of the Dative Singular Ending -i (-e) in the Monosyllabic a-Stems Ending in a Vowel.* These stems are all long, ending either in the vowel *ø* (cf. *jø-r*, *mø-r*, etc.) or in the vowel *ɛ* (cf. *-þɛ-r*, *-vɛ-r* in proper names, such as *Egg-þɛ-r*, *Rand-vɛ-r*). Whereas the dat. sing. ending *-i* (-*e*) was often dropped after the long *a*-stems ending in a consonant (cf. *arm[i]*, *stein[i]*), it almost never appears in the long stems ending in the vowel *ø* (cf. *mø*, *jø*). Therefore there may have been some analogical influence at hand which contributed to the regular loss of the ending in the *ø*-vowel type. Since there are only two vowel types (*ø* and *ɛ*), this influence could have been due to the *ɛ*-type, in which the dat. sing. ending was lost through contraction (cf. *-*vɛ-e*>-*vɛ*, *-*þɛ-e*>-*þɛ*, hence *mø-e*>*mø*, **jø-e*>*jø*).

4) *The Dative Singular Form of the u-Declension.* Alongside the regular dat. sing. form with the ending *-i* (cf. *vend-i*<**vand-iu*) there occurs a form identical with that of the acc. sing. case (cf. *vqnd*, dat. sing.). This type of dat. form is not found in the earliest MSS⁹ and is restricted to certain words.⁹

There are two current theories regarding the origin of this irregular dat. type *vqnd*; viz., (1) that it is historically correct, derived from **vand-u* with an old instrumental ending PGmc *-u* (Brugmann), and (2) that it represents a secondary transference of the acc. form into the dat. case (Noreen). In favor of Brugmann's theory is the presence of the *u*-ending in the dat. sing. form OE *sun-u* (for *sun-a*). In ON the irregular disappearance of the *u*-ending after short stems (*frið*) could then have been due to the example of the long stems (*vqnd*). On the other hand, the *later* appearance of *vqnd* for *vend-i* favors Noreen's conten-

⁸ It is likewise possible to account for the irregular nom. plur. form *helgar* (for **helgjar*) of the *ið*-stem *helgr* 'festival' as the substantivized adjectival form *helgar* (*heilagr* 'holy') with *tiðir* understood (cf. *helgar tiðir* 'horae canonicae').

⁹ Cf. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §395, 3.

tion that the dat. sing. form represents the acc. form *vqnd* transferred into the dat. case and that therefore the dat. form *vqnd* is of secondary origin and not on a level with OE *sun-u*. I believe that Noreen is right, but then it is a question as to how this transference took place.

In the case of *u*-stems with radical vowel *a* it is hardly probable that this transference was *directly* due to the example of those declensions in which the dat. and acc. sing. forms were alike (cf. *arm[i]:arm*, *a*-stem; *stað:stað*, *i*-stem) because of the variation in the radical vowel (cf. *vend-i:vqnd*). The point of departure for this transference was more likely furnished by the *u*-stems with constant radical vowel (*i*), which do not differ from the masc. *i*-stems (with constant radical vowel) in their declensional endings except in the dat. sing. (cf. *frið-r*, *frið-ar*, *frið-i*, *frið* with the *i*-stem *stað-r*, *stað-ar*, *stað*, *stað*; hence *frið-i>frið* like *stað*, dat.). From the type *frið-i>frið* the analogy could then have spread to the *u*-stems with varying radical vowel, hence *vend-i>vqnd*, dat.-acc., like *frið-i>frið*, dat.-acc. The assumption that the transference in question was due to contact with the *i*-declension is supported by the fact that in the plur. paradigm, where the declensional endings were the same for both declensions except in the *acc.* case, the *u*-stems here borrowed the ending of the *i*-declension (cf. *stað-ir*, *stað-a*, *stað-um*, *stað-i*, hence *vend-ir*, *vand-a*, *vqnd-um*, *vend-i* for earlier *vqnd-u*).

5) *The Nominative-Accusative Plural Form Brúr 'Bridges' for *Brýr.* The substantive *brú* represents an original fem. consonantal stem.¹⁰ We should therefore have expected a form **brýr* (= ONorw. *brýr*) with *i*-umlaut of *u*, parallel to *kýr:sýr*. The consonantal forms, however, are preserved only in the plur. paradigm (*brúr*, *brú-a*, *brúm*, *brúr*), the sing. forms having been supplanted by the *ō*-declension (*brú*, *brú-ar*, *brú*, *brú*), which later was extended to the plur. paradigm (*brú-ar*, *brú-a*, *brúm*, *brú-ar*). Since all the forms in both the sing. and plur. paradigms of the *ō*-declension contained the radical vowel *u*, the umlauted vowel *ý* in **brýr* could easily have been leveled to *ū*, especially since the gen. and dat. plur. forms of both declensions were identical (cf. *brú-a*, *brúm*). In ONorw., on the other hand, the

¹⁰ Cf. Bethge, *op. cit.*, §361, Anm. 2.

original form *brýr* was preserved in accord with the pattern of *kýr:sýr*. That the OIcel. form *brúr* was not due to the influence of the form *frúr<*frú-ur* (cf. *frú-ar*, *brú-ar*, nom.-acc. plur.; *frúr*, *brúr*, nom.-acc. plur.) is clear from the fact that all the forms of *brú* existed long before the time when the loan word *frú* (<OS *frúa*) was introduced on ON.¹¹

5) *The Irregular Plural Forms Gørsemar 'Treasures,' Gørvar 'Garments,' and Lygar 'Lies.'* The sing. forms of these substantives are regularly declined as *in*-stems (*gørsemi*, *gørvi*, *lygi*). According to the current view the plur. forms are due to the influence of the *ō*-declension.¹² To be sure, the ending *-ar* seems to support this contention. On the other hand, the *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel (*ø:y*) is not in harmony with the *ō*-declension (cf. *sak-ar*). Therefore, inasmuch as both *gørsemi* and *gørvi* are long stems, the plur. forms *gørsem-ar:gørv-ar* probably do not represent the *ō*-declension but rather the (long) *iō*-declension, in which the *j*-suffix was lost (cf. *þx-ar*, *byrð-ar*, *elf-ar*) except after a final *-g* of the stem. Only the umlauted radical vowel differentiates the *iō*-declension from the *ō*-declension in the plur. paradigm (cf. *elf-ar:sak-ar*). Accordingly, we should have expected a form **lyg-jar* instead of *lyg-ar*, since the *j*-suffix was preserved after a final *-g* of the stem in both the (short) *jō*-stems (cf. *egg-jar*) and the (long) *iō*-stems (cf. *rýg-jar*, *ylg-jar*). But the loss of the *j*-suffix in *lyg-ar* is easily explained as due to the example of *gørsem-ar:gørv-ar*, the only other plur. forms of the *in*-stems. Through the leveling of a phonetically correct **lyg-jar>lyg-ar* in conformity with *gørsem-ar:gørv-ar* the new plur. forms of the *in*-stems established a uniform ending *-ar*, nom.-acc. That this *-ar* represents the *ō*-declension is not probable in view of the umlauted radical vowel, which was required for both the *in*-suffix and the *j*-suffix.¹³ The anomalous form *lyg-ar* is, therefore, best explained as due not to the influence of the *ō*-declension but to the example of *gørsem-ar:gørv-ar* of the *iō*-declension with loss of the *j*-suffix.

¹¹ The word *frú* is not recorded in Larsson's *Ordförordet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna*, Lund, 1891.

¹² Cf. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §411, 3; Heusler, *Altisl. Elementarb.*, §235, 3.

¹³ For contact between the *in*-stems and the *iō*-declension compare *fiski*, gen. sing. *fisk-jar* (like *ylg-jar*).





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